The Secret History of the Mongols

A MONGOLIAN EPIC CHRONICLE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

TRANSLATED WITH A HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

BY

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ

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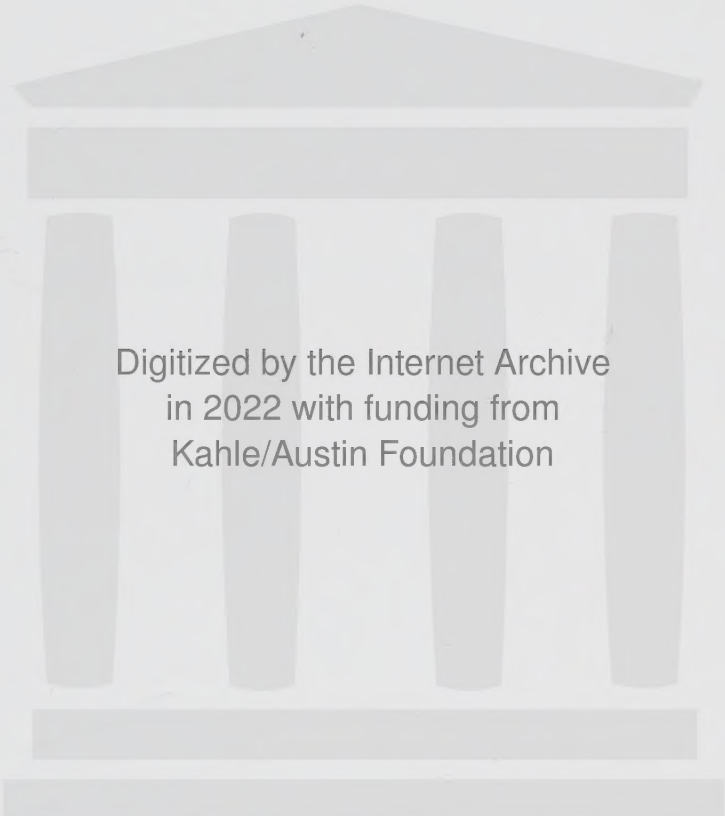
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§ **178**. 'Oh! Sinful *that I am*!' renders Mongolian *ai soyiluq*. These two words are not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (Y^2 6, 34a) translates the passage as 'Ong Qan, having heard these words, sighed and said … .' *Ai* is an interjection expressing fear, sorrow, etc., but *soyiluq* poses a problem, as this word is not attested elsewhere that I know of in Mongolian and was clearly a puzzle also for the Ming translators. Murakami relates it to mo. *süile-* 'to be short of breath; to sniff, sniffle.' See Mu, II, 173, n. 13; cf. Les., 742a. TH, 240 (= ǰYT, 414) quotes VWTD, IV, 229, where there is an entry for modern Matyri and Sagai *sailyγ* 'unfortunate, wretched.' Most of the recent translators have adopted this interpretation. See, e.g., Oz[1], IV, 138-139, n. 2; On, 85 (where the word 'poor' ['poor and stupid' in the 2001 ed., 154] is applied to Činggis Qan, not to Ong Qan himself); El-Ar, 532. In my opinion, the modern Turkic meaning of the word is a development of the original Old Turkic meaning of *suyluγ* ~ *tsuyluγ* 'sinful' (< ch. *tsui* 罪 'sin, crime' + den. noun suff. *-luγ*), on which see DTS, 513b, 583b; ED, 556a. In view of the Nestorian-Turkish background of the Kereyit chief, and the numerous borrowings from Uighur in the SH, the use of such a loan-word is perfectly plausible if not certain. In this case Ong Qan's utterance can of course only be applied to himself vis-à-vis his 'son.'

'By abandoning my son … I parted from *my* duty.' A literal translation of the poetic passage would be: 'To abandon my son?/*So I did, and thereby* I abandoned the norm./To part from him?/*So I did, and thereby* I parted from *my* duty (*or* obligations).' See Mo, 101; Cl, 106. Cf. Waley 1960, 527. The second couplet restates and strengthens the idea expressed in the first couplet.

For the expression *dura alǰa'at* 'pained in his heart', cf. above, n. 173.

'He pricked the ball (*toli*) of his little finger (*šigi quru'un*).' In an unpublished note by Pelliot on the word *toli* we read: '*tol*

(*töl-i*) ou *tol-i*, ou *toli*, *töli*, gras du bout du doigt.' Other scholars have adduced further evidence from Inner Mongolian dialects to the effect that *toli* does indeed mean 'the fatty part of the finger', i.e. 'the pad.' See Oz[1], IV, 140, n. 5. Thus, the previous renderings of *toli* as 'tip (of the finger)' must be discarded. For *šigi quru'un* (= mo. *quruɣun*) 'little finger', cf. MA, 333a: *šikčī qurūn*, and mo. *sigeči quruɣu*, *sigeǰei quruɣun*, *čigeǰei quruɣun* id. See DO, 614b, s.v. '*šige'tš'ī*.'

For *daqtai* (= mo. *daɣtai*) 'a small birch-bark casket', cf. DO, 112a; Serruys 1981, 116; Gantogtox 1994, 144-146.

On the symbolic act of pricking one's finger when making a solemn oath, see Li,163, n. 178; Serruys 1958, 288ff. Cf. also Meserve 2000, 45.

§ **179**. 'Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to sworn friend J̌amuqa', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an again spoke, saying, "Tell sworn friend J̌amuqa", he sent, saying.'

'You cannot bear the sight *of me*' (*üǰen yadaǰu*), i.e. 'you hate me.' Cf. ru. *nenavidet'*, lit. 'not to look willingly at' = 'to hate.'

The 'blue cup' (*kökö čung*) was, according to the sectional summary (Y[2] 6, 37b), the cup used by Ong Qan to drink mare's milk, i.e. kumis. Cf. SWCCL[1], 45a; SL[2], I/2, 130; Mu, II, 181, n. 1. Whereas the SH puts the reference to Ong Qan's cup in Činggis' message to J̌amuqa, both the SWCCL and SL introduce it in the message to Tōril (To'oril, Toɣoril) of the Söge'en tribe (on whom see above, n. 166) – one of the many differences between the SH and the other two sources in the account of this episode. There is no mention in any of the sources, including the SH, to the fact that Činggis Qan and J̌amuqa had at any time lived together with Ong Qan. The reference to the blue cup of Ong Qan must, therefore, be taken as a literary device within the context of Činggis' threat to J̌amuqa implied in the rhetorical question 'How much more will you *be able* to consume?' *Čung* is, probably, ch. *chung* 鍾 'cup, goblet.' See TMEN, no. 186; Oz[1], IV, 148-149, n. 3. Blue ware

of Chinese manufacture was used by the Mongols, as evident from archaeological finds at Qara Qorum. See TMo, 99. Large blue chinaware (kh. *šaazan bar*) is still used today in Mongolia for kumis ready to be served.

On Altan and Qučar see above, n. 166. The passage 'When you rejected me ... after you had consulted *only* among yourselves?' is translated and discussed in Mo, 101-102. Mostaert's interpretation, which I follow here, is at variance with Pelliot's rendering (Pe, 192) which is followed by Ligeti (Li, 71; 163, n. 179). 'After you had consulted *only* among yourselves', i.e. 'by scheming against me in secret.' Cf. El-Ar, 537, n. 9.

With regard to Činggis' claim that he had urged Altan and Qučar to assume the leadership of the Mongols, we must remember that Nekün Taiši was an elder brother of Činggis' father Yisügei, and that Qučar was, therefore, a senior cousin of Činggis Qan. Altan was the son of Qutula Qan and was thus a cousin of Yisügei. That is why Činggis calls him also 'uncle Altan.' See § 122 and com. When these reproaches were made, Sača and Taiču had been dead for some time, their execution going back to 1196-1197 (see § 136 and com.). Here they are called 'the sons of Bartan Ba'atur' which is a mistake for 'the sons of Barqaq Ba'atur.' The same error occurs in SL[2], I/2, 130, which indicates that in this particular instance both accounts follow the same tradition, which is at variance with the statements in the SH, §§ 49 and 122. Barqaq is, of course, Ökin Barqaq, who in § 140 is called simply Barqaq, but Barqa(q) Bādu(r) in the parallel account in SWCCL[1], 43a, which confirms the erroneous form in our passage. Ökin Barqaq was the eldest son of Qabul Qan, and Sača and Taiču were actually the grandsons of Ökin Barqaq, hence the word 'sons' (*kö'ün*) must be taken here *sensu lato* as meaning 'offspring' (mmo. *hači kö'ün*), as also in the SWCCL[1], loc. cit., where they are called *tzu* 子 (for *sun* 孫 'grandsons'?). It should be noted that in the corresponding section of the YS[2] (1, 11), Sača and Taiču are called 'the descendants (*i* 裔) of the elder brother of my (i.e.

Činggis Qan's) grandfather Barqa(q)', thus clearly indicating that the term used in connection with Barqaq (Ba'atur) is one meaning 'offspring', not 'sons.' In any event, they belonged to the senior line vis-à-vis Činggis Qan – what the SWCCL[1], loc. cit., calls 'the generation above (= earlier, antecedent)' (*shang-pei* 上輩), and the SH *de'ere-eče* 'from *a generation* above.' This is because Ökin Barqaq was the elder brother of Bartan Ba'atur, the second son of Qabul Qan, and Činggis Qan was the grandson of Bartan Ba'atur. Therefore, I have rendered *de'ere-eče* as 'from the senior *line*.' Mostaert (*apud* Cl, 108, n. 44) proposed a somewhat different restoration of the passage in question, but he did not take into account the parallel version of the SWCCL which gives the correct reading Barqaq Bādur. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 151-152, n. 6; MJK, 10. This whole section down to 'I was unable *to obtain their consent*' has been translated rather freely. For a more literal translation, see Cl, 107. Cf. also Street 1986a, 19-21.

'Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed *the people*', lit. 'saying to you, "Become *qan*s!", I was unable *to convince you*, and being said by you, "You become *qan*!", I have been governing *the people*.' Cf. *Lettres*, 82.

'With Heaven's protection', lit. 'if I had been protected by Heaven.'

The poetic passage in this section repeats in the first person some of the commitments made by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki at the time of Temüǰin's election as reported in § 123, using by and large the same wording. These commitments, focussed on the duties towards one's chief in a hunt, are a clear expression of allegiance and loyalty towards the *qan*. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 68.

'Now, be the good companions of my father the Qan.' Cf. the same words addressed by J̌amuqa to Altan and Qučar with regard to his 'sworn friend Temüǰin' in § 127.

'You grow *easily* tired *of your friends*' (*uyidangqa*). Cf. § 118, where the same expression is used by Börte with reference to J̌amuqa. In both cases, the meaning is that the loyalty of the person(s) in question cannot be counted upon. In the next sentence, Činggis Qan refers to himself as the *ča'ut quri*, a variant, and probably incorrect, reading of *ǰa'ut quri*, the title that he had been given by Wan-yen Hsiang of Chin. See § 134 and com. My interpretation of this passage which reads, literally, 'Do not make one say, "It was only the support (*turuq*) of the *ča'ut quri*",' is based on the paraphrase in the sectional summary (Y^2 6, 38a; cf. Wa, 269) and on the parallel passage in SL^2, I/2, 130, which is at variance with that in $SWCCL^1$, 45b. What Činggis Qan means is that Altan and Qučar must not, through their behaviour, confirm the rumour that their past achievements were due to the help of Činggis Qan, on whom they entirely depended, and that without him they would be worthless fellows. Cf. Cl, 109; Street 1986, 26. For the term *turuq* 'support', see above, n. 167; and Oz^1, IV, 155-156, n. 12. However, in the parallel accounts of the $SWCCL^1$ (loc. cit.) and SL^2 (loc. cit.), it is Ong Qan who is accused by Činggis Qan of being 'easily tired of his friends', and 'irritable and unsteady', i.e. fickle. And, in the corresponding section of the YS^2 1, 11, Činggis refers to Ong Qan as 'unstable by nature', thus confirming the other two sources from which the report ultimately derives. In view of this, I wonder whether originally the *uyidangqa* of our passage could refer to Ong Qan, who has just been mentioned, rather than to Altan and Qučar, who in the present text are indicated by the pronoun *ta* 'you' following *ke'ekde'üǰei* 'I fear *people* might say' (lit. 'I fear it is said') and thus joined to it by the connecting bracket (see Y^2 6, 37a, line 3). I think it is possible that *ta* 'you' is the subject of the following sentence, i.e. *ta ča'ut quri-yin ... ke'e'ülütkün*, in which case the sentence with *uyidangqa* should read: 'I fear he is said to grow *easily* tired *of his friends*.' 'Don't let it be said ... *ča'ut quri*', i.e. 'Don't act in such a way that one says, "*If they have*

achieved something, they owe it to the support of the *ča'ut quri*".' [A.M.]

In spite of their differences, the SH, Rašīd al-Dīn and the SWCCL all contain the reference to the *ča'ut quri*. It is not clear, however, why Činggis Qan should refer to himself by this title on this particular occasion; Pelliot has nothing to say on the subject in HCG, nor in his notice in NMP, I, 291-295. The only explanation (admittedly not very satisfactory) is that, although this title in itself was rather insignificant, it may have meant much to Činggis Qan, just as that of *ong qan* (= *wang* 王 *qan*) meant so much to To'oril that he had actually adopted it as an epithet-name and used it in preference to his real name. It is also possible that among the people who had not recognized his claim to leadership and his election as *qan*, Činggis was generally known as 'the *ča'ut* (or *ǰa'ut*) *quri*', i.e. by the only title he had and one given to him by a foreign nation traditionally hostile to the Mongols. There is, perhaps, a subtle irony in his remark which would not have been lost on Altan and Qučar. Cf. On, 86, n. 221.

'Do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers!' – i.e. in the ancestral territory of the Mongols. This is a reminder to Altan and Qučar that, although they now sided with Ong Qan of the Kereyit, they were still Mongol tribesmen of royal lineage, duty-bound to protect and preserve the ancestral land in the region where the 'three rivers' (*qurban müret*), viz. the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen, have their source, the region in question being the Khentei area with Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan as its centre. Cf. SL^{2}, I/2, 130; SWCCL^{1}, 44a; and YS^{2} 1, 11.

§ **180**. The To'oril (w.f. Toγoril; see above, n. 96) to whom Činggis Qan addresses his reproaches is To'oril of the Söge'en tribe (Söge'etei To'oril) of § 166. He was a descendant of domestic slaves of Činggis' family, and, being born in the family, he had received the affectionate designation of 'younger brother' (*de'ü*). Cf. Kałużyński 1978, 124. These 'slaves'

(*bo'ol = ötögü ~ ötegü bo'ol*) were hereditary slaves whose status was rather that of vassals. See above, n. 137. Cf. HCG, 85-86; Li, 163, n. 180; and, for the passage in question, also Vlad.[2], 81.

On Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu see §§ 47 and 48. Tumbinai Sečen was the father of Qabul Qan and, therefore, Činggis' great-grandfather. As for Čaraqai Lingqu, he was the second son of Qaidu and father of Ambaqai Qan. Činggis must refer to a raid or campaign carried out jointly by his great-grandfather and Čaraqai Lingqu in which Oqda (w.f. Oγda), the ancestor of To'oril, was taken prisoner and whose descendants then became the hereditary slaves of Qabul Qan's descendants. Cf. Hambis 1975, 39, n. 61. Thus, both Oqda and his son Sübegei are called *bo'ol*; however, this designation must be regarded as an epithet, and hence as part of their names, as indicated by Pelliot and Ligeti (Pe, 192-193; L[2], 138 – but strangely not in Li, 72!) – on the basis of Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 130: Noqta Bool *pro* Oqta Bool) and the SWCCL (SWCCL[3], 105b: No[q]ta = Oqta; cf. HCG, 332-333). Besides being used as an epithet, Bo'ol (> Bōl) was also used as a proper name by the Mongols, as in the case of Muqali's famous son. See ISK, 8-9. Cf. also *Chapitre CVII*, 54 (19), and *Chapitre CVIII*, 179a (Index). A name combination like Oqda Bo'ol and Sübegei Bo'ol is comparable to combinations like Buqa Güregen ('Son-in-Law Buqa'), Temüge Odčigin ('Youngest Son Temüge'), Alčiq Ba'urči ('Steward Alčiq'), Toqto'a Bö'e ('Shaman Toqto'a'), etc., where the person is described by the position he or she occupies in the family or in society.

Sübegei B'ol's son Kököčü Kirsa'an is mentioned only in § 180 of the SH, whereas the latter's son Yegei Qongtaqar's name appears in § 120 in the variant form J̌egei Qongdaqor. In the SWCCL[1], 44b, these two names appear in the forms Kököčü Kirsān and J̌egei Qongtoqar, whereas Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 130) writes Kökečü Kirsā(n) and Yege Qongtaqar (the form of the latter is rather corrupt in the mss.).

'The threshold slave (*bosoqa-yin bo'ol*)/Of my great-great-grandfather (*borqai*),/The personal door slave (*e'üden emčü bo'ol*)/Of my great-grandfather (*elinčüg*).' Cf. §§ 137 and 211; and Li, 163, n. 180. For the obsolete term *borqai* (~ *borqa*, pl. *borqan*) 'great-great-grandfather', and for *elinčüg* (~ *elinčig*; mo. *elinčeg*, *elenčeg*, *elünče*), see Oz[1], IV, 161-162, n. 3; TMEN, no. 29; Cleaves 1949, 104-105, n. 56; DO, 532b.

'Such is my message for you', lit. 'Such I send, saying.'

§ 181. 'A son born clothed ... a son born naked', i.e. an adopted son (who, when adopted, was already wearing clothes), and a natural son. In this idiom, the first *döröksen* (= mo. *törögsen*) 'born', although literally incorrect, is used for parallelism. Cf. Če, 399, n. 338.

'Because you were jealous that I might come between *you and our father*' (*ǰa'ura oroqdaqui-ača ... naidaǰu* [= *nayidaǰu*]). *J̌a'ura oroqdaqui-ača* means literally 'from (= because of) I might come in between', with the passive of the nomen futuri expressing necessity or, as here, strong probability. Cf. Poppe 1964, 375. The interlinear gloss has, in fact, 其間恐入行 (the character 行 is here a mere case indicator = *-ača*), where *k'ung* 恐 = *k'ung-p'a* 恐怕 'probably, perhaps' – a meaning confirmed by the sectional summary which renders these words as 'You thought that I would probably (恐怕) rise before (= take precedence over) you' (Y[2] 6, 43a). Cf. Wa, 270. However, the sectional summary's rendering of *ǰa'ura oro-* as 'to rise before' (攙...先) is too free, for it disregards *ǰa'ura* 'between.' Cleaves' translation 'From the fact that thou [wast afraid that thou] mightest be supplanted [by me]' (Cl, 109-110) is, strictly speaking, also not quite accurate for the same reason. In the passage under discussion, Senggüm is called 'sworn friend' (*anda*) by Činggis Qan. This may mean that on the occasion when Ong Qan and Činggis Qan had declared themselves father and son respectively (§ 164), Činggis had also sworn an oath of *anda*-ship with Ong Qan's son Senggüm – an event which is, however, not recorded in the SH. In the parallel passage in SL[2],

I/2, 131, and SWCCL[1], 46b, Senggüm is likewise called *anda*. It should be noted in this connection that, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Činggis Qan was also in an *anda* relationship with Ong Qan's younger brother J̌aqa Gambu. Cf. HCG, 236. This fact is equally ignored by the SH. However, from Senggüm's remarks a few lines down, it seems that Činggis uses the term *anda* with regard to him for the first time in this message and is, therefore, behaving hypocritically. On *naidaǰu* for *nayidaǰu*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 265-266.

'Always be of comfort to him', lit. 'go on comforting *him*' (*sergü'eǰü yabu*). Cf. Mo, 237, n. 221.

Bilge Beki has already been mentioned in § 142. Tödö'en's identity is uncertain: he does not seem to be related to any of the known personages by the same name, which was a fairly common one at the time. For its meaning, see above, n. 46. The Mongol text literally reads: 'Send the companions of Bilge Beki and Tödö'en' (*Bilge Beki Tödö'en qoyar-un nököd-i ile*), which is odd: who are the 'companions' of Bilge Beki and Tödö'en? Pe, 193, renders this passage as follows: 'Ceci dit, *anda* Sänggüm, [envoie-moi] les deux, Bilgä-bäki et Tödö'en; [si tu n'envoies pas les deux], envoie [du moins] le second.' Note 1 on the same page reads: 'Faire note sur correction.' Pelliot's emendation has no doubt been prompted by the parallel text of Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 131), and the SWCCL[1], 46a. The manuscript of the SH used by the Ming translators was almost certainly corrupt at this point and the word *nökǒǰi* 'the second one' was misread by them as *nököd-i*. Cf. the identical phrase at the end of § 177, which, in my view, is conclusive (in the sectional summary [Y[2] 6, 43a] our passage is not translated). I have, therefore, amended the passage in question in my translation. As Ligeti points out (Li, 163, n. 181), according to the rules of the exchange of envoys, Činggis Qan sends his two envoys Arqai Qasar and Sügegei J̌e'ün and expects in return two envoys from each of the people to whom he has sent his verbal message.

In this section Altan and Qučar are mentioned for the last time as being alive. Concerning their fate, the SH, § 246, makes Činggis say to Mönglik that had he known his (Mönglik's) nature was like that, i.e. that he wanted to compete with Činggis Qan, he would have dealt with him as he had dealt with 'J̌amuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others' – implying, of course, that he would have killed him. Cf. also § 255. That Činggis eventually disposed of 'uncle' Altan is also confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, who states that he was executed together with Dāritai and Qučar after the defeat of Tayang of the Naiman in 1204. See SL^2, I/1, 135; I/2, 47, 48. Cf. HCG, 68. However, the SH piously avoids any direct mention of Činggis' murder of his uncles and in § 242 says that Dāritai was actually pardoned. (Cf. the 'sanitized' version of J̌amuqa's execution in § 201.) See Hambis 1975, 16, nn. 26, 27; 19, n. 34. Ačiq Širun already appeared in § 170 as the leader of the Tümen Tübegen; and Qači'un is probably the Qači'un Beki of §§ 141 and 166, a chief of the Dörben. See HCG, 402.

'And he had these messages conveyed by word of mouth', lit. 'sent such words (= messages), making them deliver by voice.' 'When the messages', lit. 'when those words.'

For *keli* 'when?', cf. Mo, 174, n. 157.

For *kidu'ači* (= mo. *kiduγači* < *kidu-* 'to kill' + dev. noun suff. *-γači*, mmo. *-'ači*) 'murderer, assassin', cf. Ligeti 1970, 303-304 and n. 65; Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1954a, 448-449, n. 23.

The text literally says 'Shaman (*bö'e*) Toqto'a goes on (*yabuyu*) attaching to himself the tail of a Sartaq sheep.' This must have been a popular saying or proverb, the meaning of which was no longer understood at the end of the 14th century, at least not by the Ming translators of the SH, as evident from the sectional summary which does not provide an explanation, merely saying: 'Old Master Toqto'a joining *to himself* the tail of a Hui-hui (= Central Asian) sheep' (Y^2 6, 43a). The parallel passage in SL^2, I/2, 131, is unfortunately also of no help. However, in SH, § 275, there is another reference to a tail being attached to a human being. There we read that Harqasun, the

son of Elǰigidei, speaking contemptuously of Batu, said, 'Let's attach a wooden tail to them!' (*modun se'ül ǰübčiya* [= *ǰübčiye*] *teden-i*) – 'them' referring to the 'old women with beards' and the 'old women with quivers' to whom Batu had been compared. This was said in mockery. The words that Senggüm puts into Činggis' mouth are probably along the same line, i.e. something laughable, to poke fun at, like a shaman wearing a large sheep's tail. 'Shaman Toqto'a' was in all likelihood a character in a popular story, possibly existing also as a toy or plaything for children. This interpretation is also supported by the corresponding passage in one of the manuscripts of the SWCCL (quoted by Wang Kuo-wei in SWCCL[1], 47a; cf. SWCCL[3], 113a) which reads: 'He (i.e. Činggis Qan) regarded me merely as a toy (玩物)', viz., as something amusing, not serious, but the reference to a 'toy' may be significant. Cf. Ong Qan's words in § 164: 'There is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist', implying that he was a nonentity. Nevertheless, my interpretation remains speculative and other interpretations are indeed possible. See, e.g., Mu, II, 180, nn. 192-193, where the author provides an ingenious explanation of these derogatory words by relating them to the Uriangqai custom described in SL[2], I/1, 123. Cf. also Wa, 270; Ja, 240 (§ 181), n. 1; Cl, 110, n. 51; Do[1], 165, n. 12; On, 87 and n. 225; Га, 353-354, n. 539; Ev-Pop, 139, and 284, n. 46. (With regard to the latter, I doubt whether Toqto'a Bö'e can be identified with Toqto'a Beki, as there is no evidence to support the claim that the Merkit leader was a shaman.) For Pelliot (Pe, 193, n. 3), Senggüm's words refer to a shamanistic ritual, but he does not elaborate; and his statement 'Je crois qu'il existe une deuxième mention plus loin à propos de Täb-tängri' is incorrect. Pelliot was probably thinking of Elǰigidei's words about Batu cited above. The term *bö'e* (= mo. *böge*) 'shaman, sorcerer' appears here for the first time, and it occurs only five other times in the SH (in the plural *bö'es*, and all in § 272), i.e. very seldom considering the importance of these personages in Mongolian society. For this term and the role of the shaman, see TMEN,

no. 112 (also for further references to Mongolian and Turkish shamanism); IBČ, 198-200; CA, 142-143, 506; ASTJ, 122-134; and G. Kara in *Shaman* 5:1997, 178. The 'Sartaq sheep' (*sartaqčin qonin*) refers to the fat-tailed *dumba* of Uzbekistan and the Kirghiz steppe, whose young is the source of the astrakhan fur. For these sheep with spectacular tails, already mentioned by Marco Polo (see MP[1], I, 120-121; MP[2], I, 97, 100, n. 2; hence the specific name *Ovis Poli* given to it), see also GPS, 75. For the fat-tailed sheep of Inner Mongolia and north China, cf. SSWI, 19 et passim; fig. 3 on p. 40. For *sartaq* 'Muslim; any native of Central and Western Asia', see above, n. 152. For the form Sartaqčin (= pmo. Sartaγčin), i.e. Sartaq + the denominal noun suffix *-čin* on which cf. HCG, 253, see ibid.; Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 33; MÜIT, 2822b, no. 459; Poppe 1975, 164; and above, n. 152. For its later usage, see, e.g., TBGC, 39. See below, n. 182, for the form Sartaqtai. The verb *ǰübči-* 'to attach, join, put on' (§§ 171, 210, 275; cf. HW, 93) is obsolete. On it, cf. TH, 305 (= ǰYT, 530); Oz[1], IV, 171-172, n. 8. *Yabu-* is merely an auxiliary verb of continuity. Cf. above, n. 15.

'They are the words that precede a fight', lit. 'they are the first words of fighting.'

It is not clear which To'oril is the one with whom Sügegei's family was staying at the time, To'oril Ong Qan (who in the SH is very seldom referred to simply as To'oril), or To'oril the former domestic slave of Činggis Qan (see § 180), who was now with Ong Qan. Cl, 266b, is of the opinion that Ong Qan is meant here, but since both Sügegei J̌e'ün and To'oril the domestic slave are the sons of J̌egei Qongdaqor (~ Yegei Qongtaqar; see §§ 120, 180), it follows that our To'oril is indeed Činggis' domestic slave and 'younger brother' mentioned in the previous section. Cf. HCG, 129; Ev-Pop, 139.

'Sügegei J̌e'ün did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind', lit. 'The heart (= courage) to go failing *him*, Sügegei J̌e'ün fell behind from Arqai.'

§ **182**. The situation of Lake Balǰuna, which is called a river (河) in YS[2] 1, 11, and SWCCL[1], 47b, and is simply designated as a 'place' (*mevẓa'ī*) in SL[2], I/2, 126, 131 (but one with springs and scanty water, see ibid., 132, 251; cf. also I/1, 215a), has been the object of much investigation owing to the famous 'covenant' which, however, is not mentioned in the SH. See HCG, 37-39 (esp. pp. 42-49); Poppe 1956, 39-41; Pėrlėė[2], 6 (= Pėrlėė[4], 86: Balžuna Nuur); Hung 1956, 20-24, n. 4; Mu, II, 200-202; IĖDGMT, 27; and CKMKS, 168-169 (4). Cf. CW, 134-136; GK, 82; ISK, 14, 98, 114, 381; and, especially, Cleaves 1955a, and Stang 1985, for the so-called 'Balǰuna covenant'; and TMEN, no. 59, for the 'Balǰuna companions' (*Balǰunatu*). Pelliot does not give a definite identification and says that it was located 'vers le cours inférieur du Kerulen' (HCG, 47). For Poppe (loc. cit.), Lake Balǰuna corresponds to Lake Belezino (51° N 113°/114° E), from which originates the Tura River in the Buriat Republic, thus agreeing with earlier investigators (cf. HCG, 45-46; SL[2], I/1, 135, n. 3). According to Pėrlėė (loc.cit.), it is probably present-day Balž Bulag ('Balž Spring'), formerly known as Baltun Naur, which empties into the Mogoĭt River, an affluent of the Khalkha, at 48° N 119° E. In the light of the reconstruction of events by Cleaves (1955a, esp. pp. 391-392), the Balǰuna – stream or lake – must have been in the proximity of the Qalaqalǰit Sands south of the Khalkha River (see above, n. 170), which makes Pėrlėė's identification geographically the most plausible. Regarding the sequence of events, I agree with Kao Pao-ch'üan (*apud* Cleaves, loc. cit.) and Cleaves (loc. cit.) that Činggis' stay at Balǰuna must be placed after the timely warning of Badai and Kišiliq; and with Pelliot (HCG, 46-47), that it occurred very soon *after* the encounter with Ong Qan's forces at the Qalaqalǰit Sands, which amounted to an actual reverse for Činggis and his followers. Cf. ČK[1], 67 (= ČK[2], 73). For a further discussion of this problem, see below, n. 183.

The chief of the Qorulas is called here Čo'os Čaqan (= Čaqān), whereas the same personage is called Čonaq Čaqa'an in § 141. The correct reading is either Čo'oq Čaqa'an or Čo'os

Čaqa'an (> Čaqān), most probably the former. See above, n. 141.

Digit Quri = Tigit Quri. *Tigit* is the (honorific) plural of tu. *tigin* (< *tegin*) 'prince', and *quri* is a title of unknown origin. See HCG, 205-206; NMP, I, 294-295. Cf. above, n. 134. For *tigin ~ tegin* (SH *digin*, see § 239), cf. also TMEN, no. 922; CLC, 317; Rybatzki 2000, 215. Together they form the hybrid title borne by Alaquš (= tu. *ala quš* 'mottled bird'), the leader of the Önggüt. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 527-528. On Alaquš see Pelliot 1914, 631; HCG, 378-379; *Chapitre CVIII*, 25, n. 8; Li, 165-166, n. 190; RCAC, 261-263; Chou CS 1979, 150-153. For *t ~ d* in the SH, see 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244. The Önggüt, mentioned here for the first time, occupied a vast territory in and beyond the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, along the present Great Wall line and as far as Kalgan (Chang-chia k'ou), and even further east. With regard to the extension of their territory, in 1890 a Nestorian cemetery was discovered at Shih-chu-tzu-liang 石柱子梁, some 60 km north of Kalgan. 'Rough brown stone "columns" with lotuses and crosses roughly hewn, many also without crosses, were found there. The cemetery, which was never excavated, was undoubtedly from the Önggüt.' [H.S.p.c.] See NDRC, 426 and pl. XV. They were a Turkish tribe that had been settled near the great bend of the Yellow River by the T'ang court in the 9th century. They had been converted to the Nestorian faith, but in the 13th century they were already very much sinicized. In 1204 Alaquš pledged his support to Činggis Qan and sealed the alliance by giving his younger son Po-yao-ho 孛要合 (*Boyoqa) in marriage to Činggis' daughter Alaqai Begi. This marriage alliance between the Mongol and Önggüt courts continued under subsequent reigns, the Önggüt ruler being thus regularly called 'imperial son-in-law' (ch. *fu-ma* 駙馬 = mmo. *güregen*, mo. *kürgen*; see above, n. 66). See YS^2 118, 2923-2928; Pelliot 1914, 629ff.; RCAC, 261-267; NCHK, 62-64; Dauvillier 1948, 303-305; CC, 93 et passim; NDRC, 423-427; WCAC, 319; Buell 1978; idem 1994, 168-169 and n. 2; ISK, 788b (Index); the quite important

contribution Chou CS 1979 (cf. also CKMKSCK, 227-240); YShi, 107-108; Bese 1988, 31; and numerous other studies which have appeared in China since 1980, for which see the short notices in *CKSYCTT* and *CKYSYC* (1980-). One must also take into account the interesting archaeological discoveries made in the last decades in Inner Mongolia, the results of which have been published in Chinese archaeological journals such as *KG*, and other academic publications from Inner Mongolia. An analysis and evaluation of this great mass of information is now imperative.

The passage concerning the meeting of Asan with Činggis Qan at Lake Baljuna has been translated and discussed by Pelliot in HCG, 46-47. The merchant Asan (= pers., arab. Ḥasan) 'the Sartaq' (see below) was one of the many central and western Asian Muslims that engaged in trade along the ancient caravan routes of Inner Asia. See Pelliot 1927a, 264-268; Boyle 1956, 150, n. 25; Hambis 1975, 7, n. 11, 18, n. 31; Serruys 1982a, 127; CEME, passim. For the name Ḥasan, cf. BT, II, 369c. Barthold suggested that he is probably to be identified with the trader Ḥasan Ḥājjī mentioned by J̌uvainī, who became a trusted friend and follower of Činggis Qan. He was slain by the inhabitants of Suqnaq or Sïqnaq near Uṭrār (i.e. Otrar, about 10 km north of Tumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan). See HWC, 86-87 and nn. 2, 3; TDMI, 414. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 199 and n. 5. Cleaves, on the other hand, identifies him with Ha-san-na 哈散納, one of the nineteen participants in the Baljuna covenant, who has a biography in the YS^2 122, 3016. See Cleaves 1955a, 399 and 403. However, the latter was a Kereyit and from his biography it is quite clear that he and Ḥasan Ḥājjī are two separate individuals. Cf. CEME, 41-42. Pelliot (1927a, 264-268) does not, in fact, relate the Ha-san-na of the YS with either the Asan of the SH, or with J̌uvainī's Ḥasan Ḥājjī, suggesting as possible reconstructions of his original name *Qasana or *Qasanaq, *Hasana ('Asana) or *Hasanaq ('Asanaq). I also think that we are dealing with two individuals, viz. the Muslim trader Asan (=Ḥasan) of the SH who *may* be identified with Ḥasan Ḥājjī, and

the Kereyit Ha-san-na who took part in the Balǰuna covenant. The similarity of their names is purely coincidental. Our Asan met Činggis for the first time at Lake Balǰuna and it is most unlikely that he would have joined there and then Činggis' old companions in drinking the muddy water of the lake to seal their friendship. The participants in the covenant, people like Sübe'etei, Činqqai, the Yeh-lü brothers, Süge, etc., were all Činggis' companions who had fought Ong Qan and 'who had shared his joys and sorrows', as we learn from their respective biographies (Cleaves 1955a, 397-402); this fact alone would automatically exclude the prosperous Muslim trader, who is probably mentioned at this juncture because he helped Činggis and his followers by supplying them with food in the form of the sheep he had with him, thereby earning Činggis' gratitude and eventual employment. As noted by Serruys (1982a, 127), '(Ḥ)asan must have imported something from the Western Asian countries, but: one does not import sheep into Mongolia! Whatever Ḥasan had imported in the first place, he had already exchanged for sheep which he now wanted to trade for pelts. Furthermore one must also keep in mind that sheep cannot travel long distances without deteriorating fast. Ḥasan may well have imported a variety of manufactured goods including textiles, to be exchanged for Mongol products, which by the time he reached the extreme northeastern corner of Mongolia, had been exchanged for sheep, to be bartered for pelts. Pelts are a product easy to transport, and one may guess, they constituted Ḥasan's final acquisition to be taken back to the west.' Cf. also ČK[1], 66 (= ČK[2], 72).

The form Sartaqtai (= pmo. Sartaγtai) appears here for the first time. Like Sarta'ul and Sartaqčin, it is formed on Sartaq. See above, nn. 152 and 181. For the denominal noun 'suffix d'appartenance' *-tai*, see GWM, 44, § 138; Bese 1974, 92 (3.1.3: Qori.lar.tai); MÜIT, 2766a, no. 385 (3). Cf. pmo. *silamtai* 'Christian' ('Trois documents', 459-460).

§ **183**. Činggis' brother J̌oči Qasar's eldest son was called Yekü, but Yegü in this section as well as in §§ 269, 280, because of the frequent passage of the voiceless velar stop *k* to its voiced counterpart *g* in the SH, as in the case of words like *gürdün* for *kürdün*, *gü'ün* for *kü'ün*, *ǰirüge* for *ǰirüke*, etc. Cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 240. On him see HWC, 184; SL[2], I/2, 52, 277; *Successors*, 204; *Chapitre CVII*, 24 and n. 1 (also for references to the Chinese sources).

My reason for reading Yisüngge rather than the usually accepted form Yesüngge (cf. NMP, I, 309; *Chapitre CVII*, 178b [Index]; Pe, 62, 194; Ha, 71; Ko, 139; Da[1], 153 [Yesünggei]; Mu, II, 194; Oz[1], IV, 178; Ir, 160; El-Ar, 547; Ta, 107; Če, 148; Cl, 111; Ev-Pop, 345b; see also Rybatzki 2000, 221) is not only because this name is formed on the word *yisün* 'nine', like Yisügei and Yisüi, but also because Yisüngge is the reading found in the text in Uighur-Mongol script of the famous stele in his honour, the so-called 'Stone of Chingis.' See de Rachewiltz 1976, 489, 500, n. 24. The Chinese character *yeh* 也 (like its homophone 耶) in initial position can transcribe either mmo. *ye-* or *yi-*. Cf. HCG, 2; *Chapitre CVII*, 24-25, n. 3. I think we may be dealing also with some dialect variation (Yisüngge ~ Yesüngge), which then allows for either reading. The reading Yisüngge has been adopted by Ligeti (Li, 73), Bese (in Bese 1974, 92, 93), and, more recently, Gaadamba (Га, 108). For Yisüngge, besides de Rachewiltz 1976 and *Chapitre CVII*, loc. cit., see also HWC, 184 and n. 22; SL[2], I/2, 52, 231, 277; *Successors*, 372b (Index); Farquhar 1966, 362-368; and X. Nyambuu et al. in *Mongolica* 10 (31):2000, 197. He is mentioned again in § 269, where his name is incorrectly transcribed as Yisünge. For *n* > *ng*, cf. above, n. 1; for the denominal noun suffix *-ge*, cf. Poppe 1975, 167.

As for Qasar's third son Tuqu, who appears only once in the SH and whose name alternates with Toqu in the Chinese sources, see SL[2], I/2, 52, 277; *Chapitre CVII*, 24, and 25, n. 4.

For the passage 'Qasar … Činggis Qan', cf. Mo, 41-42 and 176. It should be noted that, in this passage, the names of

Qasar's three sons are followed by the 'enclitic' *-tan*, on which see above, n. 72. In this particular case, *-tan(/-ten)*, just as its Chinese counterpart *teng* 等, usually meaning 'and others, and the like, etcetera', plays merely the role of the conjunction 'and', as evident from the context. One wonders whether mmo. *-tan/-ten* and ch. *teng* (**təng*) may originally be related – a question deserving further investigation. Cf. Oz[1], III, 209, n. 1.

'The ridges of Qara'un J̌idun.' In the early 13th century, Qara'un J̌idun ('Dark [*or* Black] Ridge') designated a mountainous area at the easternmost limit of Mongolia, to be identified with the western ridges of the southern Great Khingan Range, possibly the western slopes of Mount Soyolji (Soyolž Uul) at 46° 31 N 119° 20 E. It was definitely not further west in the Onon and Khentei area, as suggested by other investigators (e.g. Boyle 1973, 75). I have discussed the problem of the identification of Qara'un J̌idun in considerable detail in Ra, VI, 60-63. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat my argument here, except to mention that the above identification has also been adopted in the CKA, 24, 55a. For Mount Soyolji, cf. Franke W 1945, 11, n.35; idem 1949, 15. Our text says that, in his search for Činggis, Qasar climbed 'the ridges' (*niru'ut*) of Qara'un J̌idun, a pleonasm similar to our 'crossing the Gobi desert.' We do not know which of the many ridges of the Khingan system east of the Buir Nōr these were, and I think we should not take the reference too literally, as the author is dramatizing in this passage Qasar's anxious search for his elder brother. In fact, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Qasar had been living separately from Činggis Qan at Qara'un J̌idun when Ong Qan carried out a raid there and seized his wife and children. Only then did Qasar leave Qara'un J̌idun and go in search of his brother. See SL[2], I/2, 132. The parallel account in the SWCCL[1], 48b, says that when Ong Qan captured Qasar's wife and children at Qara'un J̌idun, Qasar managed to escape with his son Toqu (the Tuqu of the SH); they had nothing to eat except birds' eggs, and in this way they joined Činggis Qan 'on the

bank of the river (i.e. the Balǰuni).' The YS[2] 1, 11, gives a virtually identical account. Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 370-371. The problem of Qasar's movements and his uneasy relationship with Činggis is a very complex one and, with but a single exception (§ 244), is glossed over in the SH. See Hambis 1975, 8ff. (esp. nn. 13, 15), 27-28, n. 46; HCG, 172-173; Nacagdorž 1958; and, by the same author, ČXC, 112-120.

For the 'hides (= raw skins) and sinews' (*širi širbusun*), cf. Khomonov 1970, 33-34. In view of the alliteration of these two words, we may assume that it is a cliché, not to be taken literally. Cf. the above-mentioned reference to 'birds' eggs' in the SWCCL and YS.

'Činggis Qa'an received Qasar', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an let Qasar come.' For Qali'udar and his clan, the J̌e'üret (? = J̌e'ürēt here written J̌e'üriyet [Cl, 111: J̌e'üri'ed]; cf. above, n. 44), see HCG, 147; Poppe 1975, 163. Čaqurqan of the Uriangqai is the same Ča'urqan of §§ 120, 124, and 127, who is called again Čaqurqan in §§ 184 and 185, and Ča'urqai in § 243. Čaqurqan = pmo. Čaγurqan (> Ča'urqan; cf. AT[1], 31b: Č[a]urqan; 33b: Čaγurqan); therefore, the form 'Čaqurqan' in Cl, 111 et passim, is incorrect. He was the 'younger brother' (= cousin) of J̌elme, and had earlier been appointed a special envoy/courier by Činggis Qan. See § 124. Cf. HCG, 164.

'I watched for my elder brother/....' In this passage, which is mostly in alliteration (hence presented here in poetic form) so that the messengers could commit it to memory more easily, the astute Činggis Qan makes Qasar speak as if he, having failed to trace and join him (Činggis Qan), has now decided to return to Ong Qan's camp provided Ong Qan sends a trusted messenger to him to guarantee that no harm would be done to his person and to his family. For this passage, cf. A. Mostaert in TOO, xv, 581, no. 436; and Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 83-84. As shown by these scholars, Činggis employs a familiar saying or proverb. Such use of familiar quotations is predominant in dramatic or quasi-dramatic situations, when important decisions must be taken.

'Gazing at the stars' (*hot qaraǰu*). In L^1, 117, and L^2, 140, the word *hot* has been inadvertently left out. *Hot* (= *hod*, pmo. *od*) is the plural of *hodun* (= pmo. *odun*) 'star.' Cf. *mod*, an ancient plural of *modun* 'tree.' See Street 1990, 360. For *hodun*, see also HCWLYTT, 190-192, no. 54; Kara 1990, 299, s.v. '*hudo*.'

For *urbang* 'a lump or clod of earth', cf. mo. *orbon* 'hillock, knoll' (Gol., I, 211c; Les., 616b; cf. SMT, 21); bur. *orbon(g)* 'rhizome of a tree; a pointed stump projecting from the base of a tree.' Cf. the meanings of this word in other modern dialects as given in TH, 122 (= ǰYT, 214). See also Cl, 111, n. 55; and Oz^1, IV, 182-183, n. 5. Poppe 1969, 274, renders it with 'knoll.' What is meant is the lump of earth at the base of a tree formed by the root. Cf. On, 88: 'a lump of earth (under a tree).' For *deretü*, lit. 'one having a pillow', cf. Khomonov 1970, 33. The last two lines of the poetic passage are, literally, 'I lie, looking at the stars, being (= as) one having (= with) a pillow *made* of an earth-lump at *the base of a tree*.'

It is worth noting that in the present passage, Qasar calls Ong Qan '*my* father the Qan', using the same form of address employed by Činggis Qan. Since Ong Qan had become Činggis' adopted father, by the same token he had also become the adopted father of all the other children of Yisügei. Cf. above, § 177 and com.

'If, hopefully, I get *from you someone I can* trust' renders *itegemǰi ere'en olu'asu*, lit. 'If I find trust and hope.' Cf. Cl, 111: 'If I obtain trust and expectation.' The Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 6, 47b) correctly paraphrases: 'If you send someone trustworthy to me.' The formula used by Činggis was no doubt a conventional one in cases in which a guarantor or hostage was required, as confirmed by Ong Qan's reply in § 184. Cf. Ev-Pop, 285, n. 56.

'We shall follow close behind you', lit. 'we shall move immediately after you.'

Arqal (= mo. Aryal) Geügi ('Dry Dung Hook') on the Kerulen River corresponds, according to $Pėrlėė^2$, 7 (= $Pėrlėė^4$,

91, but incomplete rendering!), to the present-day Aaruult (Doloon) Xüxt, at the northwestern tip of the Bayan Uul (= Bayan Ula), at 49° N 109° E. From § 185 we learn that, at that time, Ong Qan's encampment was at J̌er Qabčiqai Pass in the J̌eǰe'er Heights (J̌eǰe'er Ündür), which Pėrlėė has identified with the southern Bayan Ula. See above, n. 166. Since Činggis' forces were obviously in the same region and not far from the Kerulen (where the meeting with Qali'udar and Čaqurqan had been arranged), Pėrlėė's identification of Arqal Geügi with a place on the upper reaches of the Kerulen in the northwestern Bayan Ula would be plausible. However, as Pėrlėė refers to 'the northwestern tip' of the Bayan Ula, the locality must be closer to 48° than 49° N. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Balǰuna episode and the events described in the previous sections took place in the region of the Buir Nōr and the lower course of the Kerulen in eastern Mongolia, i.e. a long way from the Bayan Ula. Since the J̌eǰe'er Heights were in the Bayan Ula region, what is stated at the end of § 183 about Činggis setting out from Lake Balǰuna cannot be implicitly accepted. There must have been a time-lag between the events at the Balǰuna and Činggis' return to his camping grounds further west which is not accounted for in the SH. In fact, the entire sequence of events is not clear. In the SL[2], I/2, 132, we read: 'In the autumn of this year (1203), moving from there (i.e. the Balǰuna), he (i.e. Činggis Qan) gathered his followers and subjects at the sources of the Onon River and set out on a campaign against Ong Qan.' The SWCCL[1], 50b, writes: 'In the autumn there was a great assembly at the sources of the Onan River and he (= the Emperor, i.e. Činggis Qan) set out to attack Ong Qa'an.' This is repeated in YS[2] 1, 11: 'The Emperor moved his army to the sources of the Onan River and made plans to attack Ong Qan.' Thus, according to these sources, prior to his attack on the Kereyit camp Činggis Qan was by the Onon. According to the SH, he was near the Kerulen. This confusion is understandable, since it was in this very region between the two great rivers – the 'Onankerule' of William of Rubruck, the 'Onan-Kelüren' of

J̌uvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn – that Činggis had his main camp, which (as we know) shifted frequently within a certain area because of pasture requirements, so that at times it would be closer to the Kerulen, and at times closer to the Onon. See NMP, I, 330; HCG, 269; Hambis 1975, 29, n. 47. Cf. also Mo, 261, n. 250. Evidently, Činggis Qan had returned to his *ordos*, where he held a council of war to work out the best plan to crush Ong Qan and the Kereyit people once and for all. His decision to carry out this expedition may have been prompted not only by the rallying of his estranged brother J̌oči Qasar, but also by the fact that a number of other chiefs had deserted Ong Qan at about the same time and had joined Činggis Qan. This fact is not mentioned in the SH, but is recorded in SL^2, I/2, 132. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 79-80; $ČK^1$, 78. I think that from Lake Balǰuna Činggis and his followers had gradually moved westwards, following for much of the way the course of the Kerulen upstream; Ong Qan had independently also moved westwards, presumably on his way back to his camp in the Black Forest on the Tūla River. Having gained the Bayan Ula and the Khentei region, and the relative safety of his own territory, Činggis decided to attack the Kereyit who had, in the meantime, encamped in one of the valleys on the southern fringes of the Bayan Ula (see § 186). The decision to use a ruse and fall on the enemy by surprise shows that, in spite of the increase of his forces, Činggis was not yet strong enough for another open confrontation. Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 389-391; Yüan KF 1959. The common word *arqal* (= mo. *aryal*), 'argal, dry dung of animal used as fuel', occurs here for the first time, but as part of a place-name. On it, cf. TMEN, no. 12. See also above, n. 174. As for *geügi* 'hook' (cf. § 75), one is tempted to take it as a geographical term for the sharp bend of a river, but at present I find no evidence to support such an interpretation.

§ **184**. 'Golden tent of thin woollen cloth' (*altan terme*). For 'golden' = 'royal', see above, n. 21. The word *terme* is of Tibetan origin (< tib. *ther-ma*) and properly designates a 'thin

woollen textile, flannel-like fabric', as well as 'the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent' (Les., 806). Cf. Kow., 1774b: 'stamade, stamette, étoffe de laine'; DO, 661a: 'tissu de laine, flanelle (de provenance tibétaine)'; RH, 251, no. 10: 'tent.' Cf. HCG, 181; VWTD, III, 1080; KoW, 243; Róna-Tas 1963, 49-50; Khomonov 1970, 37; TMEN, no. 1340; Rassadin 1995, 114. On the golden fixtures of the royal tents in the 13th century, see the HTSL, 4a (cf. CG, 104, 106, n. 11); MM, 63; BDK, 11, 39 et passim; and, lately, CEME, 62, 75.

For *genet* (pl. of *genen*) 'not suspecting anything, unawares, "qui n'est pas sur ses gardes" [A.M.], etc.', see above, §§ 104 and 170, and Mo, 87-88. This whole passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 103-104.

'I shall give Itürgen in trust', lit. 'I shall send Itürgen in trust', i.e. as one that can be trusted and as guarantor of the accord. See above, n. 183.

'Seeing the signs of a multitude', or 'of a great display' (*yeke baru'a*: 'grand déploiement' [A.M.]) of people and tents, i.e. of a much larger camp than he expected, made him realize that Činggis Qan was assembling his forces in preparation for an attack on Ong Qan. For the connotations of the word *baru'a(n)*, see below, n. 195 ad fin.

'*Instead*, going *now* in front of him, *now* behind him, he kept on obstructing *his way*', lit. 'as he went on cutting across *the way* before and behind him.'

'At an arrow's shot from the rear.' I have borrowed Cleaves' felicitous paraphrase of the Mongolian phrase *qoyinača sumun-u gürküi üǰü'ür-e*, lit. 'from the extremity (= furthest point) an arrow would reach from behind.' See Cl, 112, n. 58.

'He hit Itürgen's gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches* (*sa'utala*).' This is how the Chinese sectional summary understands this phrase, and how Haenisch, Ligeti and Ozawa among others have also interpreted it. See Y^2 6, 50a (cf. Pa, 97; Wa, 272). However, Naka, Pelliot and other translators take *sa'utala*, lit. 'till (*or* so that) it sat', as meaning 'until (*or* so that) it (= the arrow) sat (= lodged)', i.e. in

the tip of the rump of the black gelding. I favour the first for the reason that that is how the Ming translators of the SH understood it. See Ha, 72; Li, 74; Oz^2, I, 243; On, 89 (2001 ed., 159: '[thus] bringing it down'); Na^2, 216-217; Pe, 195; Cl, 112; Ev-Pop, 141.

'Cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then': cf. § 136 ad fin. This was harsh treatment for an official envoy (Itürgen is called *elčin* in this very section) as well as a guarantor-hostage of his 'father the Qan', but it was all part of Činggis' devious plan and his ruthless determination to dispose once and for all of Ong Qan, hence his total disregard for the accepted rules of conduct concerning envoys. It should be noted that the account of Itürgen's mission and capture is told differently in SL^2, I/2, 133 (cf. SWCCL^1, 51a-b), and the YS^2 1, 11. See D'Ohsson, I, 81; CW, 137-138; ČK^1, 72 (= ČK^2, 79).

§ 185. 'Let us quickly move *forward from here*' renders *öterlen igülgüǰü*. The word *igülgüǰü* is not glossed in the text, nor is it translated in the sectional summary (Y^2 6, 53a); however, being preceded by *öterlen* 'quickly, fast (lit. "hastening")', it must be a verb of action or movement. I think that Pelliot is correct in suggesting that this word, which is otherwise unattested in Mongolian, should be amended to *ne'ülgeǰü*, converbum imperfecti of *ne'ülge-* (= mo. *negülge-*) 'to cause to move, to transmigrate.' See Pe, 63, n. 1. As a matter of fact, the expression *öterlen ne'ü-* 'to move fast', is already found in § 101 of the SH. The factitive form is used with reference to the men, i.e. the soldiers, who must also be made to travel through the night (*sönit düli dülilgeǰü* – again a conv. imp. of the fact.). It seems, then, that the manuscript of the SH used by the Ming translators had a corrupt form which they read as *igülgüǰü*, and which they left untranslated because they did not know what to make of it. (In the Uighur-Mongol script, a badly written word like *negülgeǰü* could be easily read as *igülgüǰü*; for the regular confusion between *i-* and *ni-*, cf. HCG, 332-333.) Other interpretations suggested or adopted by modern translators are

yegülegül- 'to change (horses)' (Cė, 355; cf. On, 89); *güyülge-* 'to cause to run or gallop' (Če, 150; cf. Ev-Pop, 141); and **čigül-* (< *čiγul-*) 'to assemble' (Oz[1], IV, 198-200, n. 1, and Oz[2], I, 243; but in his translation in Oz[1], IV, 197, Ozawa adopted the rendering 'to move'); however, I regard them as less plausible. Jagchid's *qayiγulγu-* 'to reconnoitre' (Ja, 245 and n. 1), and Gaadamba's *yügülgü-* = *güyilge-*, *güyülge-* 'to cause to run or gallop' (Га, 110, 356, n. 544) are in my view untenable on linguistic grounds.

The J̌er Gorge (J̌er Qabčiqai) pass (*amasar*) of the J̌eǰe'er Heights has been identified by Pėrlėė[2], 8, with the present-day Xabčil Am (Amsar) at 47° N 109° E. This is, apparently, the only passage leading into an area rich in camping grounds in the southern Bayan Ula region. Cf. Pėrlėė[4], 97. See also above, n. 166, for the J̌eǰe'er Heights. According to the CKA, 54a, the J̌eǰe'er Heights correspond to the Argun Nuruu (Argun Range), and J̌er Qabčiqai Amasar to Khabtsgaytyn (Xabcgaĭtyn) Am (cf. ibid., 32, A-5). This would place the latter at 50° N 119° E, which is too far to the north-east. In view of what has been said earlier concerning the respective itineraries of Ong Qan and Činggis Qan after the encounter at Qalaqalǰit Sands, Pėrlėė's identification of the J̌eǰe'er Heights and of J̌er Gorge appears to be the correct one (see above, n. 182). There is no doubt that we are dealing with a mountain pass (for *amasar* = 'pass', cf. above, n. 136); the very term *qabčiqai* (= mo. *qabčiγai*) means 'gorge, ravine.' See TMEN, no. 265. Although the J̌eǰe'er Heights are mentioned in the corresponding passage in SL[2], I/2, 133, and the SWCCL[1], 51b, as well as in YS[2] 1, 11, these sources do not mention the J̌er Gorge, and this locality does not reappear in the SH.

'One who fought *longer than the others*', lit. 'This *man* who fought ....' Cf. Street 1990, 193.

Qadaq Ba'atur was the leader of the 'brave J̌irgin', the main crack unit of Ong Qan's army. See § 170 and note.

For *tebči-* 'to forsake, abandon' → 'to kill', see above, n. 77. Here the meaning is 'to abandon him and let him be killed.' Cf. BGĖG, 166.

'I will serve him', lit. 'I shall give *him my* strength.' See above, n. 149. For the rallying of Qadaq Ba'atur, see the remarks in Vlad.[2], 105.

'Because Quyildar *lost* his life', lit. 'Because of the life of Quyildar', i.e. the life he gave to Činggis Qan. See § 175.

The expression *eme kö'ün*, lit. 'wife – child (*or* children)', is ambiguous; like ch. *ch'i-tzu* 妻子 it can mean 'wife and children', or simply 'wife.' Cf. Mo, 41-42; and above, n. 104.

'Must not betroth them' (*bu qudalatuqai*). For *qudala-* 'to betroth' (< *quda*, see above, n. 62), cf. BGĖG, 180.

For the expression 'according to their own wishes' (*ö'erün dura'ar*, mo. *öberün durabar*), cf. Cleaves 1953, 72, n. 9.

'Must be servants and attend to', lit. 'let them serve in front and behind.' For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

It will be remembered that in § 171 it is related how Quyildar of the Mangqut had spoken before Uncle Jürčedei of the Uru'ut offering to fight in front (i.e. as vanguard) of his *anda* Činggis Qan. In the knowledge that this may cost him his life, he had entrusted his 'orphaned children' to the care of his *anda*. After his death (§ 175), Činggis kept his word and rewarded Quyildar's loyalty and sacrifice 'to the offspring of the offspring' (*uruq-un uruq-a*), i.e. *in perpetuum*. For 'the bounty *granted* to orphans' (Cl, 119: 'grant of orphans'), cf. Aubin 1975, 562, n. 88.

Chapter Six of the SH ends, appropriately, with the end of the Kereyit 'people' (*irge*, see § 186) i.e. of their tribal unity, and the defeat at the battle of Jer Qabčiqai of their leader, Ong Qan, the person who, more than anyone else, had helped Činggis to achieve the prominence he attained in Mongolia. The organization of Ong Qan's army served as the blueprint for that of Činggis Qan's formidable fighting force with which he overran China and Central Asia. Ong Qan's heritage and

memory continued in several ways largely through later legends which, by confusing him with the ruler of the Önggüt (who, like the Kereyit, were both of Turkish origin and Nestorian faith), related Ong Qan by marriage to Činggis Qan's family and identified him with the mythical Prester John. See MP[3], 375-376; MP[4], 22; MPA, 321-323; de Rachewiltz 1996a, 71. As Yisügei Ba'atur's *anda* and Činggis Qan's adopted father, Ong Qan exerted great influence on the conqueror, more than he is usually credited with; this fact transpires from the pages of Rašīd al-Dīn's account, which tends to balance the more negatively biased account of the SH.

§ **186**. A transcription in *uyiγurǰin*, i.e. in Uighur-Mongol script, of the entire Chapter Seven is found in MUǰ, 15-19, followed by a translation into modern literary Mongolian, also in *uyiγurǰin*, taken from Da[1], 159-180. Cf. Da[5], 135-152.

For Taqai Ba'atur, see above, n. 120; Vlad.[2], 124-125; and Cleaves 1955a, 400 and n. 261. For the Suldus, a former subtribe of the Tayiči'ut, cf. above, n. 82; and, in particular, Li, 164, n. 186, also with regard to Taqai Ba'atur.

For the J̌irgin, a subtribe of the Kereyit, see above, n. 170.

'Ordered *as follows*' (*ǰarliq bolurun*). Cl, 114, leaves a lacuna immediately after, explaining in note 1 on the same page: 'There seems to be a lacuna, because what follows is not the text of the decree. This passage is not found in the *Altan tobči* (*nova*). The words *basa Činggis qahan ǰarliγ bolurun* are not rendered in the continuous Chinese translation (*YCPS*, 7. 2v4).' I think that what follows is, in fact, the gist of Činggis' order with regard to Ong Qan's daughters and J̌aqa Gambu. Cf. El-Ar, 561; Oz[1], IV, 210; Če, 152.

On Ibaqa Beki (? read Begi, cf. above, n. 49), see HCG, 236, 243; NMP, I, 303-304; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. Činggis later gave Ibaqa Beki as wife to J̌ürčedei, the chief of the Uru'ut.

As for Sorqaqtani Beki (w.f. Soryaγtani Beki *or* Begi; ?–1252), there is a vast literature on her, as she was the Christian (Nestorian) wife of Tolui and the mother of Möngke,

Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Bökö. She played an important part in Mongol court politics, as well as in policies which affected China, and her name, in the form 'Seroctan', became known in the West through John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. On her see *Successors*, 168-171 et passim; SF, 66, 287, 288, 289; SDM, 266, 358, 446; MWR, 311a (Index); Pelliot 1914, 628; idem 1932; NHHO, 33-34; NMP, I, 342; RCAC, 66-67 (also for the date of her death, and concerning her sister Ibaqa Beki); Ratchnevsky 1976, 510-511, 521-522; ČK[1], 21, 73, 115 (= ČK[2], 22, 80, 128); KK, 11-14, 18-19, 108; Rossabi 1979, 158-166; MJK, 27, 119; Szerb 1989, 374-375; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v. There are also several biographies of this famous princess in Chinese. See, in particular, YS[1] 116, 1a-b (= YS[2] 116, 2897-2898); HYS 104, 9a-b; MWESC 19, 6b-7a.

Tolui, the fourth and youngest son of Činggis Qan, is mentioned here for the first time. He was born between 1186 and 1190, and died in 1231 or 1232. He briefly held the regency of the empire between Činggis' death in 1227 and the enthronement of Ögödei in 1229, his posthumous Chinese appellation being Jui-tsung 睿宗. His posthumous title among the Mongols was Uluγ Noyan, a Turco-Mongolian hybrid meaning 'The Great Chief.' On him see HCG, 375-376; *Chapitre CVII*, 88-89; Cleaves 1948, 318, n. 18; NHHO, 11, n. 2; NMP, I, 252, 335, II, 785; Boyle 1956, 146-148; Szerb 1989. According to RC, 102, Tolui died in September-October 1232. Chou Liang-hsiao 周良霄 says in YShi, 106, that Tolui died in 1233 at the age of over forty. The dates given for Tolui in On, 91, n. 231 (and 2001 ed., 163, n. 420), are 1193-1232. Cf. below, n. 272, for a further discussion on this point.

For the forms *egečimet* (< *egeči* + den. noun suff. *-met*) 'elder sister', and *döyimet* (< *döyi* + den. noun suff. *-met*) 'younger sister', see LSHM, 54, § 4.1111; JŚ, 35, § 37; GWM, 43, § 129a, 70, § 263. Cf. also Oz[1], IV, 211-212, n. 2.

For *qariyatan*, plural of *qariyatu* 'belonging (to), subject (of), dependant', see TMEN, no. 273.

For the *emčü irge(n)* 'personal subjects', cf. above, nn. 137 and 139. The sentence literally reads: 'The personal subjects belonging to him be a "whole" (*tumda'a*) and *like* the second shaft of a cart', i.e. they should be kept united as a group and, together with J̌aqa Gambu as their chief, they should assist Činggis Qan. For the expression 'to be (*or* become) the second (*or* the other) shaft *of a cart*' meaning 'to work together, to assist', cf. § 177. *Tumda'a* is glossed in the Chinese interlinear translation as *yüan-ch'üan* 圓全 'whole, complete.' Cf. the forms *tumdaqa* in § 198 which is glossed *ch'üan* 全 id., and *tumtaqa* in § 208, glossed *wan-ch'üan* 完全 id. The written form was evidently **tumdaγa*, a word unattested elsewhere in the written language. However, it has apparently survived in the Torgut dialect of Sinkiang in the form *tumdaqa* ~ *tumtaγ* meaning 'a complete thing', which TH, 265 (= ǰYT, 459) relates to osm. *tïm* 'thick, well-rounded, convex' (VWTD, III, 1601). Cf. tu. *tüm* 'thick, clean' (DTS, 596b). I think that **tumdaγa* is the nomen imperfecti in *-γa* of **tumda-* 'to unite under one head (*or* into one)', a verb probably derived from ch. *t'ung* 統 'whole, all, entirely; to gather into one, unite' with the denominal verbal suffix *-da-* (GWM, 64, § 242). **Tumdaγa* (> *tumda'a*) would then mean 'that which has been and still is united under one head.' It should be noted that the concept of *t'ung* implies continuity, and that the nomen imperfecti in Mongolian expresses also the idea of uninterrupted continuity. My etymology remains, however, hypothetical.

§ **187**. '*Just* as it stands', lit. 'as it is sitting', i.e. with all its contents. Cf. Cl, 114, n. 2: 'The meaning is "such as it is with all its appurtenances."' The Chinese interlinear version glosses *sa'uqsa'ar*, converbum abtemporale of *sa'u-* 'to sit, dwell, be', as *ch'üan-chü* 全具 (俱) 'all complete', viz. 'intact' – the term used in On, 91. Cf. Mostaert's 'la tente telle quelle' [A.M.].

'His golden bowls and vessels' (*altan gürü'e ayaqa saba*). The Chinese gloss renders *gürü'e* as *chiu-chü* 酒局, the usual meaning of which is 'wine shop' or 'depot.' The term *gürü'e*

occurs only once in the SH. Mo. *gürüge* is an alternative form of *gürege* 'arteries of the neck' (Kow., 2644a). There is also a word transcribed in Les., 392b, as *gürüge* meaning 'wicker-work' (a nom. imp. of *gürü-* 'to braid, plait'; cf. Kow., 2645b, id.). According to Poppe, these words should be read as *göröge* and *görö-*. See TDB, 48: F38v, 13 (*görögsen*). Cf., however, MKT, 791b: *gürü-*; MJBT, 1045b, id. Neither of these two terms fits the context. As is often the case in the SH, initial *g* = mo. *k* (thus *gü'ün* = mo. *kümün*, *gürdün* = mo. *kürdün*, etc.; see 'Quelques problèmes', 240). In this instance, too, *gürü'e* = *kürüge*, a term corresponding to čag. *körägä* 'a container for wine', crim. 'cup, bowl'; cf. VWTD, II, 1251a [N.P. p.c.]; TH, 208 (where the spoken Urat form *görō̄* designating a particular type of leather bag for kumis [*ayiraγ*] is also cited; cf. ǰYT, 361) In view of this, I think that the Chinese gloss must be understood as meaning 'wine service', i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) pertaining to the serving and drinking of wine, *chü* 局 meaning here 'disposition des parties d'un tout, ensemble de circumstances' (DCLC, 244b). Cf. below, n. 213. On *gürü'e*, cf. also CLC, 140; Khomonov 1970, 31. For *ayaqa* (= mo. *ayaγa*) 'cup, bowl, beaker, vessel', cf. tu. *ayaq* id. See TMEN, no. 629; RH, 279, no. 16; Khomonov, loc. cit.

'Ongqoǰit Kereyit' is explained by Pelliot as Ongqoǰit = *Ongqaǰit, plural of *Ongqaǰin, the ethnicon of Ong Qan, hence 'the Kereyit of Ong Qan' (HCG, 128). These Ongqoǰit Kereyit would then be Ong Qan's own clansmen.

Kešikten (= pmo. *kešigten*) 'bodyguards' is a possessive noun formed on *kešik* 'the bodyguard (*or* Guard).' See GWM, 44, § 139. For this important term, see below, n. 191.

To carry quivers and participate in formal drinking (*ötök*) were privileges not enjoyed by household serfs and grooms like Badai and Kišiliq, but they became entitled to them when they were raised to the status of *darqat* (pl. of *darqan*) or freemen. See above, n. 51, and the interesting remarks on this question in Li, 164, n. 187. Cf. also §§ 51, 169. For *darqala-* 'to enjoy the privilege of being freemen', cf. above, n. 121.

On the short alliterative passage (ignored as such in L^2, 144), cf. the words spoken to Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki in § 123, and in § 219 where the passage in question is repeated with almost identical words. Cf. also Ozawa 1972, 581ff.

'When swiftly pursuing', lit. 'when hastening after.'

'What you get .../What you slaughter ...', lit. 'As much as you get .../As many as you slaughter ...' (fr. 'autant que ...' [A.M.]).

'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq', lit. 'Because Badai and Kišiliq caused a service to arrive between *my* life *and death*', i.e. 'they performed a service that saved (*or* protected) my life.'

'The high throne', lit. 'the place (= seat) of height' (*ündür-ün oron*). For this use of *oron* ('place' > 'throne'), cf. TMEN, no. 43. Cf. also the expression *yeke oron* 'great throne.' See *Matériel II,* 12 (2v, 1).

For *ulam ulam* 'successively, one after the other', cf. TMEN, no. 522; de Rachewiltz 1982, 73, n. 189; and Cleaves 1982, 83, n. 41. Although *ulam* can mean 'still further, more and more', the expression *ulam ulam* in the present context can only mean 'successively' (= *ulamǰilan*). See Oz, IV, 225, n. 8. 'Remember' (*uqatuqai*). *Uqa-* means 'to perceive, understand, think of, consider, keep in mind', hence also 'to remember', but this extended meaning is usually not given in the dictionaries.

'They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en and they all took of them until they had plenty', lit. 'Distributing the Tümen Tübe'en among themselves, they together took them until they had finished distributing them.' Tümen Tübe'en = Tümen Tübegen. See above, n. 150. For the expression *tügetele*, cf. above, n. 92.

For the Olon Dongqayit, see above, n. 150.

For the expression *oquqa* (= mo. *oγuγa*) *üdür-e ülü gürgen*, lit. 'without reaching a full day', i.e. 'in less than a day', cf. 'Trois documents', 476.

The 'brave' (*ba'atut*) J̌irgin were Ong Qan's crack troops (see § 170); after a battle they had the right to strip the fallen enemies and take as trophies (and booty!) their blood-stained

clothing and possessions (*čisutu tonoq*). According to a later source, the victors hung these gory trophies on the right side of their saddles, while at the same time leading the dead enemy's horse on the left side. This symbolized also the victory over the honour of the horse. See Šagdarsürėn 1970. Cf. MNTSZA, 60-70; Sampildėndėv 1977. Serruys 1982a, 126, writes: 'Prof. I. de Rachewiltz makes the observation that the Mongols kept the clothes of vanquished enemies as trophies.[6] Perhaps, this is so to a certain extent. But given the overwhelming evidence, as we shall see, of the need for textiles in general, I am rather inclined to think that most of the time clothes taken from the enemy were used again. The Mongols could not be too choosy, and certainly they did not share our modern squeamishness in this regard.' Serruys is certainly right; however, the two considerations are not mutually exclusive. The enemy's clothing would first be displayed as trophy and then, undoubtedly, used again. Cf. CEME, 27. As for *tonoq*, cf. tu. *ton* 'garment, clothing' (ED, 512b); this term seems to have included also other personal possessions carried by a warrior on his person. The interlinear gloss renders it as *po-t'o* 剝脫 'the stripping off' = 'spoils.' *Tonoq* is, in fact, a deverbal noun in -γ (mmo. *-q*; see GWM, 45, § 146; JŚ, 41-42, § 54) from *tono-* 'to strip off, rob, plunder.' See above, n. 136. *Tonoγ* means now 'goods, utensils, harness, equipment, etc.' (Les., 825a; DO, 668b; MMED, 500b). On these etymologies, cf. TMEN, no. 990; Oz, IV, 227-229, n. 11. With regard to the reference in this section to the J̌irgin taking 'the blood-stained clothing', Cleaves (Cl, 115, n. 7) writes: 'Is this an allusion to the episode in § 136? If so, *J̌irgin* is an error for *J̌ürkin*.' Cf. also Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 25. Since the ethnic origin of the J̌irgin is not clear, it is possible that they were related to the J̌ürkin (Yürkin), which is certainly suggested by their names, although the former were apparently a subtribe of the Kereyit, whereas the latter were Mongols proper. See HCG, 56-57, 398. It should be noted, however, that the J̌irgin in our passage are given the epithet of *ba'atut* 'brave (pl.)' as in § 170 (twice), whereas this epithet is never applied to the J̌ürkin in the

SH. We are probably dealing with two separate subtribes. Cf. Vlad.[2], 74, 89 and n. 5; 117, n. 5.

'They divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody', lit. 'they split and apportioned them, but were unable to deliver them for each other (= for everybody)', i.e. they were unable to divide them in such a way as to give everybody some.

Abǰi'a (w.f. Abǰiγa) Ködeger (~ Köteger, see § 191), or '? Shrunk Height (*or* Elevation)', where Činggis Qan spent the winter of 1203 after the destruction of the Kereyit tribe, was a hilly place situated somewhere near the sources of the Khalkha River east-south-east of the Buir Nōr. See HCG, 409; and Mu, II, 224-225, n. 7. Pėrlėė[2], 4, gives its situation as 'south-east of the city of Choibalsan.' Cf. Boyle 1973a, 109. As noted by Pelliot, it was here too that the Qonggirat had their winter encampment. For *köteger* 'height, elevation', cf. TMEN, no. 338.

§ **188**. 'Went away, unwilling to submit *to Činggis Qa'an*' (*dayiǰiǰu qarču odu'at*). Cf. Mo, 177, n. 158: 's'échappant en révoltés et s'en étant allés ...'; Cl, 115: 'revolting[9] and going out, being departed.' In note 9 on p. 115 Cleaves writes: 'I.e., not wishing to submit themselves to Činggis Qahan.' The verb *dayiǰi-* means 'se révolter, abandonner le parti de quelqu'un' (Mo, 45) and is, therefore, more or less synonymous with the expression *bulqa bol-*. Cf. HW, 31 and 21. As is known, anyone who did not wish to submit was *ipso facto* regarded as a rebel (*il* v. *bulqa*). Cf. 'Trois documents', 493. The other interpretations of these words of the SH (including mine in Ra, VII, 45, and On, 92), are incorrect.

The 'Nekün Usun of (= at, by) Didik Saqal' has not been identified. Nekün Usun ('Slave Water') was the name of a spring or a watercourse. The first element of Didik Saqal is tu. *titik* 'mud, clay' (ED, 455b; DTS, 564a); the second is tu. and mo. *saqal* 'beard' (cf. Ligeti 1965, 276, no. 11), hence 'Mud Beard' – an unusual name for a locality. It is, thus, either a

Turkic or a hybrid Turco-Mongolian name, which is very much in accord with the Turco-Mongolian culture of the Naiman (see above, n. 141), this site being undoubtedly on the fringe of the Naiman territory in western Mongolia and just north of the Gobi (see below). I suspect that the word *saqal* 'beard' may have been used also as a topographical term, the meaning of which is lost. (Cf. the *geügi* 'hook' of § 183.) However, one cannot exclude the possibility, suggested long ago by Pelliot, that Didik Saqal is the name of the (Naiman ?) chief in whose territory Nekün Usun was situated, but I think this is unlikely because Nekün Usun occurs twice in this section, both times preceded by the qualifying expression 'of Didik Saqal', as is very often the case with place-names in the SH. Cf. Pelliot 1920, 177-178; and Li, 165, n. 188 (where the corresponding passage in the SWCCL and Rašīd al-Dīn's work is also discussed). Onon (On, 92, n. 232; 2001 ed., 164, n. 421), following TH, 283 (= ǰYT, 491), renders Didik Saqal as 'clump of sedge' – a speculative and unreliable interpretation. It appears that after leaving the Bayan Ula region, both father and son had made their way to the south-west. Ong Qan was waylaid further west in search of water and fell victim to the Naiman chief Qori Sübeči who was then patrolling the area. Qori Sübeči is, indeed, called 'a high official who held command under Tayang Qan (of the Naiman)' in § 194 – a fact confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/1, 132, 137; I/2, 132, 134) and the $SWCCL^1$, 52a. (For further references to this chief, see ibid., 55a; SL^2, I/2, 148; on him cf. also Bürinbatu 1991, 529-534.)

As for Senggüm, he bypassed (lit. 'went outside') the area of Nekün Usun and, continuing his southward journey, crossed the Gobi (Čöl). For Čöl = the Gobi, see Pelliot, op. cit., 178-179. Both Pelliot and Ligeti, loc. cit., have pointed out that in the SH this word is always glossed as 'place-name' (Y^2 7, 5b; Sup. 2, 48b). I may add that it is likewise mentioned as a locality in the HIIY (IIb, 13a). See *Matériel I*, 28, 47; *Matériel II*, 90, 96. However, in the present context Čöl almost certainly designates the desert region between the Naiman territory and

the Tangut/Qašin (Hsi Hsia) country. On the term/name *čöl* ('desert'/Gobi), cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 19, n.1; Cleaves 1949, 113, n. 105; Poppe 1955, 39; de Rachewiltz 1985, 217, n. 29; and below, n. 279. *Čöl* is also glossed as 'desert' in MA, 136a; and as 'dry land' in IM, 435a.

'Plagued by gadflies' (*hilu'atuǰu*). For *hilu'atu-* (w.f. *iluγatu-*) 'to be plagued (*or* bitten) by gadflies', cf. mo. *ilaγa(n)* 'fly, gadfly'; ord. *ilō* 'gadfly' (DO, 384a). Cf. also Pelliot 1925, 217, no. 28; Oz, IV, 239, n. 9.

Concerning the equerry Kököčü, Mostaert has already pointed out that he was not a simple groom, in which case his condition would have merely been that of a serf, but that he was a comrade (*nökör*) of Senggüm, which explains why he was given costly clothes and tasty dishes. Hence, 'equerry' is here a better rendering of *aqtači* than 'groom.' See Mo, 106. Cf. CEME, 53.

For a discussion and translation of the passage beginning 'His wife said', and ending 'let him at least draw water and drink', see Mo, 104-109. A still unresolved ambiguity is the subject of the two alliterated verses uttered by Kököčü's wife, viz. whether it was her husband or his master to wear 'gold-*embroidered* clothes' and eat 'tasty dishes' (lit. 'When wearing *clothes* having gold,/When eating *food* having taste'). Translators are very much divided on this issue. Cf., e.g., Mo, 105-106; Li, 76; Mu, II, 226-227; Oz[1], IV, 234 (cf. Oz[2], II, 13-14); Cl, 116; Da[5], 137; Do[1], 172; Če, 154; On, 92; Ev-Pop, 146. I follow the interpretation of the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 8a-b), also adopted by Mostaert and Cleaves, indicating that it was for Kököčü to wear those garments and eat that food (given to him by Senggüm). On these verses, cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 80.

'Your lord Senggüm', lit. 'your *qan* Senggüm.' Cf. above, n. 149.

'You call me', lit. 'I am said' (*ke'egdeyi*), i.e. 'You apply to me the saying.' For the idiomatic expression 'a woman (= wife) with a dog's face (lit. "has a dog's face")', i.e. a woman who

cannot blush, hence a shameless, unfaithful one, cf. Mo, 107-109. Onon's interpretation (On, 92, n. 234): 'They [i.e. women – I.R.] are two-faced; they may be both honest and dishonest' missed the point. The statement in the 2001 ed., 165, n. 423, that 'This sentence means that women are loyal to their husbands, but men are not always loyal to their masters' is also inaccurate.

J̌anta'u, the word for 'cup' in this passage, seems to be of Chinese origin like the term *čung* 'cup' of § 179; the second element is not clear (*ta'u* < ch. *t'ao* 套 'a wrapper, container' ?). Cf. the MKIY, 9a: *yü-tzu* 盂子 (the text has incorrectly *meng-tzu* 孟子) 'large cup, basin' = *chan-tao* (**ǰandau*). Cf. bur. *zantuu* 'iron bucket; tin teapot.' See TH, 288-289 (= ǰYT, 500); Ligeti 1990, 266, no. 181; Kara 1990, 300; Khomonov 1970, 31. For the particle *ber* 'at least', cf. Street 1981, 155.

'Threw the golden cup back at him', i.e. he threw the golden cup behind Senggüm. For *oru'at* read *ōru'at* (< *o'oru'at*), converbum perfecti of *ōru-* (< *o'oru-*; mo. *oγor-*) 'to throw, cast' (R, 97, line 6511, and 282a, s.v. 'oru'at', must be amended accordingly).

'From beginning to end' renders *tegüs* 'fully, completely.' For this word, cf. TMEN, no. 916.

'Činggis Qa'an *then* ordered, "To his wife I will show favour ...."' Cl, 116, translates: 'When Činggis Qahan made a decree, favouring his wife, saying, "...."' Oz[1], IV, 235, understands the text in the same way. My rendering is the generally accepted one by western and Mongol translators alike. However, Cleaves and Ozawa may be right. The sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 8b) says, in fact, that Kököčü, after leaving Senggüm, went to Činggis Qan together with his wife, something that is not stated in the Mongol text. As for Senggüm, his subsequent movements are not related in the SH, but we know them from Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 134), the SWCCL (SWCCL[1], 52a) and the YS (YS[2] 1, 12). He crossed the Gobi (Čöl), reaching the region of the Etsin Gol in the Hsi Hsia kingdom of north-west China. There he lived for a while

as a marauder. Driven away by the local people, he fled to northeastern Tibet (or, more precisely, to the area of Hsi-ning or Tsaidam), then to the region of Kucha in Uighur territory, always engaging in banditry. He was eventually killed by a local emir. See Pelliot 1920, 180-185. As pointed out by Pelliot, the SH account is somewhat legendary in character, and there is no doubt that Senggüm was not alone when he left Mongolia, but must have had a band of followers with him.

'And take him for a companion' (*nököče'esü*), lit. 'when (*or* if) he becomes (*or* joins as) a companion.' This is another example of the value Činggis placed on the loyalty of a *nökör* and his dependants (such as his wife) towards the leader. Cf. above, § 149. See also Vlad.[2], 114, 121; Ratchnevsky 1976, 530, n. 57.

'He cut him down and cast away *his body*.' Cf. § 184 ad fin. (*tende čabčiju gēbe*). From the text it appears that Činggis Qan himself carried out the execution – an unusual occurrence.

§ 189. Tayang Qan, the ruler of the Naiman tribe, was briefly mentioned in § 166. He was the son of Inanča Qan, i.e. Ïnanč Bilgä Bügü Qan (see above, n. 151) and, according to the SH, of Gürbesü (= mo. *gürbel* 'lizard' ?) who in this section (189) is called Tayang's 'mother' (*eke*). However, there seems to be some confusion on this point, as Gürbesü, according to other sources, was actually Tayang's wife. She may indeed have been another younger wife of Tayang's father Inanča Qan later (i.e. after Inanča's death) married by Tayang Qan, in which case the epithet 'mother' of the SH must not be taken literally, but generically. See the discussion in HCG, 308-309. Eventually, she became Činggis Qan's concubine. Cf. ibid., 308; Hung 1956, 31-32, n. 7. On Gürbesü's name, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For a discussion of §§ 189-196 in which the SH account of the 1204 Mongol campaign against the Naiman is presented as a fictional narrative woven around a historical event, i.e. as an epic piece, see Kahn 1996.

For *tayi-* 'to offer a sacrifice; to worship', cf. TMEN, no. 849; 'Trois documents', 453; Oz[1], IV, 247-248, n. 1. The use of the head for the purpose of worship is, as pointed out by Ligeti, an example of *pars pro toto*, the head representing the whole being. Cf. in § 198 the case of Toqto'a's head being severed by his sons. See Li, 165, n. 189.

'Placed it on a large white felt rug (*čaqān toloq*).' This is the first reference in the SH to the white felt rug (*toloq*) which, since the remotest times, plays such an important part in Mongol enthronement, marriage and, as here, funeral ceremonies. See ibid.; and de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-252, n. 116. Cf. also MF, 21ff. On the term *toloq* (= pmo. *toloγ*), see AT[1], 147b (ATI, 103, line 4511, reads 'tuluγ'); cf. DO, 666b; Oz[1], IV, 248-249, n. 2; MKeT, 2372a, s.v. 'tolug.' The qualifier 'large' applied to the carpet in question comes from the Chinese gloss (Y[2] 7, 9a; cf. HW, 151).

The rites (or duties) of a daughter-in-law on this particular occasion are not known, and one can only speculate, as Onon (On, 93, n. 236) does when he writes that 'perhaps in this instance they [i.e. the daughters-in-law – I.R.] offered filled pipes to the head of the Ong Qan.' Cf. the 2001 ed., 166, n. 425. For details of other domestic obligations involving the daughter-in-law, see Mu, II, 240-241, n. 5; Iššamc 1974, 79-80. Cf. also Cleaves 1977, 69, concerning the role of the daughters and daughters-in-law in the old Uighur mourning regulations.

'The ceremonial wine', i.e. the formal 'toasting' or *ötök*, on which see above, n. 154.

'The *horse* fiddle', i.e. the Mongolian fiddle or *qu'ur* (= mo. *quγur*), the ancestor of our violin. Cf. TMEN, nos. 314, 1546; and the relevant entries in BM, 116; and MAM, 331ff.

'Laughed' is the literal meaning of *inējü'ü* (= *ine'ejü'ü*, w.f. *inegejügü*); however, the author(s) perhaps meant that it grinned, as has been understood by some translators (e.g. Li, 77); others translate it as 'smiled' (e.g. On, 93; Ev-Pop, 147), which is not quite accurate. The 'grinning' effect after death is a

common phenomenon, and I think that this is exactly what happened in the case of Ong Qan's head.

'He stamped on it *and crushed it* to pieces' renders *kemkerü gečkileǰü'üi*. Bese 1969, 124, translated these two words as 'trod [the skull] asunder', which strictly speaking is accurate, but fails to render the full force of the expression, since the verb *gečkile-* implies a reiterative action with the foot or feet. Cf. DO, 263a.

On the Naiman chief Kökse'ü Sabraq, see § 159 and com.

'The next *thing* you *do is to* crush it to pieces', lit 'it is you who, for the second time (*nökö'ete* = "next"), crush it to pieces.' Cf. Street 1982, 624.

'This is not right', lit. 'How *can it* be proper?' – a rhetorical question.

'The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty', i.e. the dogs' barking bodes ill after Tayang Qan's sacrilegious act. For other historical references to dogs' barking as an ill omen, see Li, 165, n. 189. For the plural form *noqan* of *noqai* 'dog', see Street 1990a, 361 (D) and n. 119.

'I begot *only* through magic (*elbesü'er*)', i.e. by means of prayers, incantations and other shamanistic practices. Cf. above § 174 and com. (on *elbesün*).

'Born a weakling' renders *torluq töreksen* (= mo. *torluγ töregsen*). *Torluq*, not glossed in the text, corresponds to tu. *toruq*, *turlaq* 'lean, emaciated.' See GOT, 384b; DTS, 587b; ED, 546b. Cf. tu. *tor-*, *tur-* 'to be(come) weak or emaciated; to be exhausted'; osm. *torlak* 'a lazy, untrained horse, an unbroken colt.' See GOT, 384a; VEWT, 589b, 490b; ED, 530b. This is confirmed by the sectional summary which says, '*My* son Tayang is still weak (*or* soft)' (Y^2 7, 12b). The word *torluγ* (*torlog, t'orloķ*, etc.) still survives in Mongolian, usually in combination with *modun* 'tree', with the meaning of 'twig, switch', and as the name of a plant. See Les., 826b; DO, 671a; MKT, 1066c; MKeT, 2391b; TH, 262 (= ǰYT, 454). This word has also been variously rendered as 'a puppet (i.e. a nobody)'

(Oz[1], IV, 246, 251-252, n. 7), 'lazy' (On, 93), 'stupid' (id., 2001 ed., 166), 'béjaune' (Ev-Pop, 148), and similar expressions, all ultimately deriving from the meaning(s) of the Turkic word.

'Has grown weak and emaciated' (*torulmiši*). The puzzling word *torulmiši* (= tu. *torulmiš*) is also not glossed in the text and has, therefore, been variously read and interpreted. See Ra, VII, 64; TH, 270, s.v. 'törülmiši' (= ǰYT, 467-468); Cl, 117, n. 20; Oz[1], IV, 252-253, n. 8; Ev-Pop, 286, n. 16. I am now of the opinion that, as already surmised by Pelliot (Pe, 65, n. 2; cf. Ir, 167, 168, n. 3), the word in question is back-vocalic, not front-vocalic as generally supposed. *Torulmïš* is the verbal noun in *-mïš(/-miš)* of the passive form in *-l-* of tu. *tor-* 'to be(come) weak, emaciated' (see above), used here in a predicative function. See AG, 80-81, § 156; 114, § 219. In this I also diverge from most other translators (including Ir) who take this word as a verbal noun qualifying 'my numerous ... people.' Inanča Qan is clearly concerned about the capability of his son to assume the leadership of the Naiman tribe, a concern reinforced by the use of the word *torluq* as an epithet or appellation of Tayang in the same section, where he is called Torluq Tayang, i.e. 'Weakling Tayang', and in § 190, where he is called Torluq Qan, i.e. 'Weakling Qan.' It is noteworthy that Inanča Qan is using purely Turkic words in describing his son, a further indication of the mixed Turco-Mongolian culture of the Naiman tribe. See above, n. 141; cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 131, n. 1; and Doerfer 1996, 85-87, also for the interpretation of the passage in question. One can also draw an interesting parallel between the birth of Ong Qan's son Senggüm, also allegedly achieved through magic (§ 174), and Ong Qan's poor opinion of Senggüm (§ 164) on the one hand, and Tayang's birth and Inanča Qan's opinion of him on the other.

'Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if *a calamity* is fast approaching (*idürekü*)', lit. 'Now, as to the sound of the dogs, they bark a bark of fast approaching *calamity*.' The word *idürekü* is the nomen futuri of *idüre-*, a verb which appears in the SH with the meaning of 'to catch up,

overtake; to fast approach.' See HW, 80. Cf. above, nn. 145 and 146. This verb is not Mongolian but, like other words in this section, of Turkic origin: *yitür-* (*yetür-*) 'to cause to arrive, to accomplish.' See DTS, 260a; ED, 893a. It is not related to mo. *üdere-*, *ügdere-* (kh. *üdrėx*, *ügdrėx*) 'to have a relapse', which occurs in the SH (§ 175) in the form *hükdere-*. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 253, n. 9. However, the general meaning here, as the paraphrase in the sectional summary (Y^2 7, 12b) indicates, is '(to foretell) an impending calamity' – much as we would say 'something (bad) is going to happen.' There is also an element of haste implied in it, as evident in the use of the verb *idüre-* in §§ 145 and 146.

'The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh' (*qadun-u bidan-u Gürbesü-yin ǰasaq qurča bolbi*). For the word *ǰasaq* meaning 'rule, government', see de Rachewiltz 1993, 97; Ratchnevsky 1974, 472. Cf. eng. 'rule' = 'norm' and 'government.' For *qurča*, lit. 'sharp', cf. TMEN, no. 1455.

For falconry, cf. above, nn. 27 and 54 (esp. Katayama 1982).

'I hear', lit. 'I am told (*or* it is said)' (*ke'ekdemüi*).

'With their quivers', meaning, of course, the arrows contained in their quivers. For other references to quivers (rattling, moving) in a similar context, cf. §§ 105 and 230.

'Causing him to desert his own companions' renders *dayiǰi'ulǰu*. See above, n. 105. Cf. also above, n. 188.

'Do they now want to be rulers themselves?', lit. 'Now are those same *people* going to say, "We shall be *qan*"?' Cf. Street 1990, 191 (69).

'Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above – both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be two rulers on earth?', lit. 'Saying, "Let there be two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above" *is all right*: both sun and moon are indeed there, yet … .' Cf. the ancient Chinese saying 'There are not two suns in the sky, nor two rulers on the land' (天無二日, 土無二王). See DKJ, III, 5833.1641. Whereas the version found in the Mongolian text of

the SH is supported by the SWCCL[1], 53a, and SL[2], I/2, 146, the author of the sectional summary renders the Mongolian text as follows: 'In the sky there is only one sun and one moon; how can there be two masters on earth?' (Y[2] 7, 13a). Cf. Wa, 274. The same interpretation is found in YS[2] 1, 12. This rendering, however, does not correspond to the original. Ko, 142, has likewise misunderstood the text, and so, more recently, have Bira and Khomonov by following him. See Bira 1974, 68; Khomonov 1981, 61. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 253-256, n. 10. For the historical and political implications of this passage, see Bira, op. cit.; and Smith 1994, 208.

'Those few Mongols' (*tedeket Mongqol-i* [acc.]). Several translators have either rendered *tedeket* (pl. of *tedeken*) simply as 'those' (see, e.g., Na[2], 228; Oz[1], IV, 247; Do[1], 175; On, 93; Ev-Pop, 148), or have misunderstood its meaning (Ko, 142). The word *tedeket* 'those few' must be contextually related to the earlier *čö'eket* 'a few', as correctly seen by Haenisch, Ligeti and others.

'Have ... worn grimy clothes', lit. 'have clothes *that are* dark (*baratutan*).' For 'dark', i.e. more or less near black, meaning 'grimy, dirty', cf. Poppe 1977, 121.

'At that ... our cows and sheep.' For this section, cf. Street 1986, 19-20 (33); Mo, 109-110 (for *qar köl* 'hands – feet' = 'hands', see ibid., 43, 167). For the form *qonint* for *qonit* 'sheep', see above, n. 118.

'What do they have *for us to worry about*?' (*ya'utan aqun tede*). For this expression, cf. Cl, 118, n. 23.

To take away somebody's quiver, i.e. arrows and bow, obviously meant to carry out a successful raid. See also § 190. Cf. the corresponding passage in YS[2] 1, 12, where the expression used is 'to snatch his (i.e. the self-styled emperor's) bow and arrows.'

For *maqa* 'perhaps, surely, etc.', see above, n. 31.

§ **190**. 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking*!', lit. 'Oh! You speak big words!

Oh! Torluq Qan, are they (i.e. your words) proper? You should conceal them (i.e. keep quiet)!' Cf. Cl, 118. This interpretation (against those of Kozin, Haenisch, Ligeti, etc.) is confirmed by the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 7, 17a). Cf. Wa, 274; Wei, 131.

'Despite Kökse'ü Sabraq's warning', lit. 'Having been warned by Kökse'ü Sabraq.'

For the first element of the envoy's name Torbi Taš (written Taši in the SH), cf. tu. *torpï* or *turbï* 'follower, assistant' (ED, 533a-b; DTS, 587a); Taš is tu. *taš* 'stone', on which see TMEN, no. 855.

On Alaquš Digit Quri and the Önggüt, see above, n. 182. Tayang Qan sought an alliance with the Önggüt probably on the strength of former marriage links between the two people (see HCG, 319), and the fact that both tribes were of Turkish stock and Nestorian faith. On the 'Turkishness' of the Naiman, see above, nn. 141 and 189. Whereas in his translation of § 182, Ozawa reads the name of the Önggüt leader correctly as Alaquši-digid-quri (Oz^1, IV, 174, 175), in § 190 he inexplicably reads it as Alaqu-šigid-quri (ibid., 259, 260, 263). Cf. Oz^2, I, 240 (§ 182): Ala-quši-digid-quri; II, 17 (§ 190): id.

'The right wing' (*bara'un qar*), lit. 'the right hand.' As the Naiman would proceed to the north-east against the Mongols, the Önggüt who lived in north China and, therefore, south-east of the Naiman, were 'to the right' in relation to the latter; hence they would form the right wing of the joint army.

'I shall join you from here' (*bi endeče qamsaǰu*). For *qamsa-* 'to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side', see above, n. 133.

Yuqunan is the Turkic-Mongolian form of syr. Yôḥannàn, i.e. Johannes, John, a very common name among the Nestorian Christians. See Pelliot 1914, 631; RCAC, 306c-307b (Index); Lewicki 1939/49, 247-251; Dauvillier 1948, 303; Hambis 1953; Li, 157, n. 150. The statement in the SH about the identity of the two envoys Torbi Taš and Yuqunan is at variance with the accounts in the SWCCL, SL, and with other Chinese sources.

See RCAC, 275-276, n. 4. For the relevant passages, cf. SWCCL[1], 53a; SL[2], I/2, 146; and YS[2] 1, 12.

The area where, according to the SH, Činggis was hunting at the time is called Teme'en Ke'er, i.e. the Camel Steppe (*or* Plain), which corresponds to the Temegei Valley (川) of the SWCCL[1], 52a and 53b, and the YS[2] 1, 12; and to the Temeen (= Teme'en) Keher (= Ke'er) of SL[2], I/2, 135 and 146. (For *ee* = *e'e*, and *ehe* = *e'e*, cf. above, nn. 1 and 170.) This is the locality where, according to these sources, Činggis Qan had gone after the defeat of the Kereyit, either in the winter of 1202-1203 (SL), or in 1203 (YS). However, according to the SH, § 187, he had spent the winter of 1203 (following Ong Qan's defeat) at Abǰi'a Ködeger at the sources of the Khalkha River. These two localities – Abǰi'a Ködeger and Teme'en Ke'er – were near each other, as is indeed confirmed in § 191. Pėrlėė[2], 11 (= Pėrlėė[4], 101), says that it was undoubtedly situated north-west of the Khalkha. The location of the Teme'en Steppe has been discussed by various scholars (in particular, Wang Kuo-wei and Yanai Watari), the consensus being that it was north-east of Dalai Nōr (or Dar Nōr; the Chinese Ta-li po or Ta-erh ho; see NMP, I, 355) at about 44° N 117° E. Their argument, based on other references to Teme'en Ke'er in the YS, is summarized in Mu, II, 246, n. 15. On the other hand, the Teme'en Ke'er of the SH was beyond doubt near the Khalkha River. Does that mean then that there were two areas having the same name, as is often the case in Mongolia? In the present instance I do not think so. I believe it quite possible that the whole region extending for about 500 km southwestwards from the Buir Nōr and Khalkha River to the Dalai Nōr was loosely known in Činggis Qan's time as the 'Camel Steppe.' Thus, the place where he was hunting in the spring of 1204 would have been the northern end of Teme'en Ke'er, whereas the Temēn Kēr (= Teme'en Ke'er) of YS[2] 118, 2919, where he was encamped in the year 1214, must have been the southern end of it. The term *ke'er* 'steppe, vast grass plain' could, in fact, apply to a wide area, as was the case

with the other famous steppe, the Sa'ari Ke'er west of the Kerulen (cf. HCG, 389). See Ra, VII, 65-66; and above, n. 128.

Tülkin Če'üt ('[?] Tülkin Hills') was obviously a group of two or more hills in the same area. On this name see Mo, 260. On the basis of the transcription found in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, the name of this locality should be read Tülkül or Tülkil Če'üt. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 146 and n. 10; Pe, 66, n. 8. However, neither Tülkin nor Tülkül or Tülkil yield a satisfactory meaning for the name of a hill or hills in Mongolian. Prof. H. Franke (p.c.) has suggested a possible relationship with tu. *tülki* 'fox' ('place where foxes abound'?) – in this case perhaps 'Fox Hills'?

For *qomor-* (mo. id.) 'to encircle', cf. TMEN, no. 285.

For *aba* 'hunt', lit. 'a circular battue', see above, n. 115. For the expression *aba de'ere bö'et*, see Cleaves 1952, 104, n. 147 (but cf. Cl, 118, where *bö'et* is rendered as 'then'). For *bö'et*, cf. above, n. 110.

'There is nothing we can do now', lit. 'what shall (= can) we do now?' – a rhetorical question: the geldings being lean, they would be unfit for battle.

Otčigin Noyan is Činggis Qan's younger brother Temüge Otčgin, already mentioned in §§ 60 and 79 as Temüge, and in § 99 as Temüge Otčigin. See above, n. 60. This is the first time in the SH that (Temüge) Otčigin is given the additional title of *noyan* – a title often bestowed on the *qan*'s brothers and male offspring as high-ranking personages, in this case equivalent to 'prince' (*kö'ün*). Cf. HCG, 178; Vlad.^{2}, 145 et passim; Boyle 1956, 153 (4). The same applies to Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, who in the same passage is referred to as Belgütei Noyan (as also in § 112).

For the expressions *yekin šiltaqdaqu* 'how can one make the excuse?', lit. 'how is one to use as pretence?', and *yekin sa'uqdaqu* 'how can we stay put?', lit. 'how is one to sit?', see Poppe 1964, 371.

For a translation and discussion of Belgütei's words up to 'difficult', see Mo, 111-113. For 'bones' (*yasun*) = 'body', cf. above, n. 175. 'Are boastful, bragging that …', lit. 'saying …

are speaking big words.' For *olotu* 'numerous', lit. 'having many', cf. DO, 511a. For certain grammatical features of this section, see also Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7; and 'Trois documents', 466.

'Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they abandon them?' (*ordo ger anu e'üreǰü ülü-'ū qočoru'uǰai*), lit. 'Carrying their palatial tents (*ordo ger*; see above, n. 123) on their backs, won't they (i.e. the palatial tents) stay behind?' The word *e'üreǰü*, converbum imperfecti of *e'üre-*, is not glossed in the text and is a *hapax legomenon*. The sectional summary paraphrases the whole sentence as '*their* homes (= tents) will be *left* empty' (Y^2 7, 17b), hence the rendering 'Would their *ordo* tents, becoming empty, perhaps, not remain behind?' in Cl, 119 (cf. Li, 78; Ev-Pop, 149). Murakami (Mu, II, 247, n. 18) suggests that *e'üre-* may correspond to mo. *egürle-* 'to stay always in the same place' (see Les., 302b; DO, 762b), hence the renderings 'be as usual' (如常) and 'intact' in Do^1, 176, and On, 94, respectively. However, in principle *e'üre-* should rather correspond to mo. *egür-* (kh. *üürėx*) 'to carry on one's back.' See Les., 301b; Cėv., 629a; MED, 410a. Damdinsürėn in fact translates: 'They cannot carry their palatial tents on their backs; surely they will abandon them and flee!' (Da^5, 140; cf. Ja, 256). Га, 117, and Oz^1, IV, 264, 271, render this sentence as 'Will their palatial tents, being smashed, not be left behind?' on the basis of TH, 98-99 (= ǰYT, 174), which makes *e'üre-* correspond to kh. *üürėx*, *üǰrėx* (= mo. *yegüre-*; see Cėv., 629a, 619a; Les., 431a), 'to break, crumble, etc.' I follow Damdinsürėn's interpretation and take *e'üre-* to mean 'to carry a burden, to be burdened with', but with some reservation in view of the fact that in the SH the verb 'to carry on one's back, to carry off' (mo. *egür-*, *ügür-*) appears in the forms *ü'ür-*, *ūr-*. See HW, 165, 167. However, the alternation *e* ~ *ü* does occur in the SH (see 'Quelques problèmes', 268) and, in any event, the verb in question occurs in Written Mongolian in both forms. Nevertheless, it seems that the Ming translator(s) also had some difficulty in understanding the word *e'üreǰü* since they left it

untranslated. This problem deserves further investigation. What Belgütei means is that, should the Mongols attack the Naiman by surprise, the Naiman would flee leaving behind all their possessions – horses and cattle, the chiefs' tents, etc.

'In high places', i.e. in mountain forests.

'Allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way?' lit. 'let the same speak such big words as these?'

§ 191. 'Returning from the hunt' (*aba ba'u'at*). For the expression *aba ba'u-* (= pmo. *aba bayu-*) 'to return from the hunt', lit. 'to come down from the battue', see 'Trois documents', 444, n. 31.

The Abǰiqa Köteger of § 191 is the same locality called Abǰi'a Ködeger in § 187, the reading Abǰiqa (= Abǰiγa > Abǰi'a) reflecting the written form – a further indication that the text used by the Ming transcribers was in Uighur-Mongol script. For *t* ~ *d* in Köteger ~ Ködeger, see 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244.

For Keltegei Qada at the Or Bend of the river Khalkha, see above, n. 175.

Before the dramatic confrontation with the Naiman in May 1204, Činggis begins the reorganization of the army that will be continued and completed in the Year of the Tiger 1206 (see § 202ff.). He starts by counting his forces (*to'a-ban to'olalduǰu*, lit. 'counting his number'; cf. § 265) and dividing them into units of a thousand (*minqa*[*n*] = *mingqa*[*n*]), sometimes referred to as chiliarchies, a hundred (*ǰa'un*) and ten (*harban*) men, appointing a leader or commander (*noyan*) in charge of each unit. The system of decimal classification of military forces among the nomadic tribes of Inner Asia is very old; it existed in the Hsiung-nu empire well before our era. See Li, 166, n. 191. On Činggis Qan's introduction of this system, see Vlad.[2], 131-132; MJK, 43; and MEYD, 9-10. Further references are given below, nn. 202 and 224. It should be noted that already at the time of Činggis' break with J̌amuqa, Činggis refers to his future organization of the army along these lines by saying to Qorči: 'I will make you a commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*)'

(§ 121); and that, earlier on, Ong Qan of the Kereyit had divided his army into units of ten thousand (*tümet*, pl. of *tümen*) before the joint campaign against the Merkit to rescue Börte (§ 104). As stated above (n. 104), it was almost certainly the Kereyit that provided the model for Činggis' reorganization of his own army in 1204 and 1206. The expressions *minqan* (*ǰa'un*, *harban*) *minqala-* (*ǰa'ula-*, *harbala-*) are technical expressions meaning 'to form units of a thousand (a hundred, ten) men each.' On the expression *minqan-u* (*ǰa'un-u*, *harban-u*) *noyan*, see Cleaves 1953, 46, n. 7. Henceforth, in the translation and the commentary, a *minqan* will be rendered as 'a unit of a thousand' (= 'a one-thousand-man unit'), or simply 'a thousand', as in Cl. For *minqa*[*n*], cf. also above, n. 170.

At the same time Činggis appointed *čerbin* (pl. of *čerbi*), i.e. chamberlains (Cl, 119: 'stewards'; On, 95: 'commanders'), and organized his personal bodyguard, which will also be enlarged and restructured in 1206. These chamberlains, who are already mentioned in § 120, were important officials whose main function was, apparently, the management of the *qan*'s household and property, including the serving of food and control of the domestic staff, and the safety of the *qan*, i.e. with security in general. See HCG, 348; TMEN, no. 176; Hambis 1975, 42-45, n. 64; Mu, I, 261-262, n. 1. Cf. also §§ 124 and 234 for the *čerbi*'s duties.

Of the six chamberlains appointed on this occasion, four have already been mentioned: Dödei (*or* Dodai) Čerbi in § 124; Doqolqu Čerbi in § 120; Ögele (~ Ögölen ~ Ögölei) Čerbi in §§ 120 and 124; and Söyiketü Čerbi in § 120. See above, nn. 120 and 124. Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan is a famous personage who distinguished himself in Činggis Qan's Western Campaign and took part in the final expedition against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia. There is still some confusion about his blood relationship with Söyiketü and Kököčü Teb Tenggeri, who are usually assumed to be his younger brothers, being all offspring of Father Mönglik. See HWC, 476-477, n. 2, 91, n. 2; Hambis 1975, 42-45; Mu, II, 252-253, n. 4; and Boyle 1963, 240, no. 12.

Bučaran Čerbi has been identified with another military commander mentioned in various Chinese sources and, possibly, also by Rašīd al-Dīn. See Mu, II, 253-254, n. 5. Since we know that Dödei, Doqolqu, Ögele (~ Ögölen ~ Ögölei) and Söyiketü were made chamberlains at the time of Činggis Qan's election as tribal chief (see above, §§ 120, 124; for the dating of these events, see § 123), it seems that the 'appointment' of 1204 was merely a confirmation of these four personages in their position, with the addition of two more *čerbin* as part of the reorganization. However, in view of the considerable lag of time between the original appointment and the later confirmation, it is possible (and, perhaps, more likely) that those four personages are called *čerbi retrospectively* in §§ 120 and 124, the appointment of 1204 being the original one.

'He formed', lit. 'having finished forming.' Cf. Cl, 119: 'Making an end of dividing.'

The *qan*'s bodyguard or, simply, the Guard (*kešik* = pmo. *kešig*, *kesig*), divided into dayguards (*turqa'ut* [pl. of *turqaq* = pmo. *turγaγ*]) and nightguards (*kebte'ül* = pmo. *kebtegül*), was the most important military institution. On these terms, see CY, III, 57; NHHO, 116, n. 1; Chavannes 1904, 429-432, n. 3; Pelliot 1930b, 27-31; Cleaves 1951a, 517-521; Mo, 244-249; Haenisch 1961, 144-149; LST, 175; Poppe 1967, 515-517, no. 10; idem 1975, 166; ED, 749b-750a; Blaskovics 1973, 195; MKSLT, II, 797; MTG, 159; MNTK, 56; Kyčanov 1993; and especially TMEN, nos. 322, 331, 332, 333, 334, 882, 1633, 1634. (For the interpretation, and misinterpretation, of the term *turqaq*, see Ra, IX, 140-141, n. 224.) On the organization of the Guard see, in particular, the important studies in MSK, 211-262; MEYD, 14 et passim; YTSHT, 59-111, as well as other numerous contributions by Chinese and Japanese scholars, such as Katayama 1977, and those cited in *AA* 24:1973, 114 (s.v. 'Masugi'); Sugita 1979, 43-45; *CKSYCTT*, 1984.8, 2; and YShi, 78-80. See also above, nn. 70 and 170, and below, nn. 192 and 224. The expression *kešikten ilqaǰu oro'ul-* means 'to choose

and recruit *men* who serve on roster (i.e. the guards).' See Mo, 247.

For the recruitment of bodyguards from the sons of military leaders as well as of ordinary people, cf. § 224, where these instructions are repeated and expanded. The relevant passage in § 224 has been translated and discussed in Mo, 250-257, where expressions such as *düri(dürü* in § 191)*-yin gü'ün* 'ordinary people,' *erdemüt(t)en* 'who have talents, who are able', and *šil sayit* (= *beye šil sayitan* of § 191) 'of good appearance (i.e. well-built)' are discussed. For *dürü-yin gü'ün* cf. also *ÖMNŠU*, 1989.1, 12; and MEYD, 36. These 'ordinary people', i.e. people of ordinary status, must be distinguished as a class of individuals from the *qaračus*, a term usually rendered as 'commoners' (fr. 'roturiers'; see Mo, 52), who were *le menu peuple* or plebs of Mongol society, just above the slaves and servants. However, the connotations of these terms varied in time with the internal changes of society and are not clearly definable. See Vlad.[2], 99, 154 and n. 4. In the interlinear version, the word *ütü* before *dürü-yin gü'ün* is glossed 'only that way, only as far as that' (只那般). Cf. HIIY, IIa, 22b: 只 ('only'). See *Matériel I*, 109; *Matériel II*, 40 (14v, 1). The expression in question refers to ordinary tribesmen who were not in the *qan*'s service. Cf. Cl, 119, n. 29; Oz[1], IV, 278-279, n. 5.

On Činggis' trusted envoy Arqai Qasar, see above, n. 177. He is listed as a commander of a thousand in SL[2], I/2, 268.

For the term *ba'atut* (pl. of *ba'atur*) 'brave (*or* valiant) men (= warriors)', see above, n. 50. Here this term is applied to the élite warriors especially selected by Arqai Qasar to form the thousand-man unit under him.

'To fight before me in time of battle', lit. 'On the day of battle, let them fight standing before me.'

Olon üdür literally means 'many (*or* most) days'; however, the sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 20a) renders this expression 'in peace time' (平時), no doubt because, as pointed out by N. Poppe (p.c.), 'most days' are not spent at war.

'*Acting* in consultation with Qudus Qalčan', lit. 'You be consulting with Qudus Qalčan *on the command*!' (*eyetüldüǰü atqun*). The verb *eyetüldü-*, on which see above, n. 36, is employed here as a technical term meaning 'to share command, to command jointly', as evident from the sectional summary's rendering 'Ögöle Čerbi and Qudus Qalčan shall together (一同 = jointly) command the seventy dayguards' (ibid.). Cf. also §§ 209, 223. For the use of the auxiliary verb *a-* (*atuqai*, *atqun*, etc.) in these sentences, see VG, 62, 63.

§ 192. For an annotated translation of the entire passage dealing with Činggis Qan's order concerning the duties of the Guard, etc., cf. Cleaves 1951a, 520-521 (slightly different from that in Cl, 120). For further translations and commentaries on difficult passages in this section, see Mo, 77, 139-141 and n. 140, 248 and nn. 234, 235. This passage must be read in conjunction with the ordinance concerning the same guard duties recorded in § 229.

In the present section, the word *kešik tout court* appears for the first time. On it see above, nn. 70 and 191. For a detailed description of service regulations for the quiverbearers (*qorči*), stewards (*ba'urči*), guards, etc., as set out in 1206, see §§ 224-229. For the further development of these institutions in Ögödei's time, see § 278. The term for 'doorkeeper(s)' appears in this section in the two forms *e'ütenči* and *e'üdečin*. For *t ~ d*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244; for *e'ütenči ~ e'üdeči*, cf. *qoninči ~ qoniči(n)*, see above, n. 118. For the term itself, see TMEN, no. 74; RH, 203, no. 6.

'Shall see that *those of* their *men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so', lit. 'shall make to lie *those of* their *men* who are to lie all around the tent.' Cf. Cl, 121.

'The following morning' (*manaqari*). For *manaqari ~ manaqaru*, see above, n. 159. The *manaGar-i* in Oz[1], IV, 280 (id. in V, 303) reflects the error in the Chinese transcription where the final *i* of *manaqari* is erroneously taken for the accusative suffix. See Mo, 17-18, n. 12. Cf. Lewicki 1938,

17ff. With regard to the 'morning soup' and the steward's duties concerning it, cf. above, § 124.

'Their respective tasks' (*müṇ mün mör mör-düṛ-iyen*): cf. below, n. 229.

'And take their *appointed* places', lit. 'let them sit upon their seats.'

Regarding Arqai Qasar, there is an apparent contradiction between §§ 191 and 192. In § 191, Činggis Qan orders Arqai Qasar to choose the 'brave men' (*ba'atut*), i.e. the élite warriors, himself, and appoints him their leader. In § 192, on the other hand, we read that Činggis Qan *Arqai Qasar-a ba'atut ilqaǰu*, a sentence which has usually been understood as 'chose (lit. "choosing") brave men for Arqai Qasar.' Cf. Ha, 78; Ko, 144; Li, 79; Cl, 120; On, 95-96; Ev-Pop, 151. However, this sentence should be read *Arqai Qasar-a ba'atut ilqāǰu* (< *ilqa'aǰu*) 'let (lit. "letting") Arqai Qasar choose the brave men.' Cf. Damdinsürèn's rephrasing: '(Činggis Qaγan) selected Arqai Qasar and making him the chief (*daruγa*) of the brave men ...' (Da[1], 167); Jagchid's rendering: '(after) causing Arqai Qasar to choose the brave men ...' (Ja, 261); and Ozawa's rendering 'making Arqai Qasar choose the brave men' (Oz[1], IV, 282). Unfortunately, the sectional summary of § 192 omits the final passage concerning Arqai Qasar, but that of § 191 confirms that Činggis Qan ordered him to select the *ba'atut*. See Y[2] 7, 20a and 22a. There is, therefore, no doubt that *ilqaǰu* = *ilqāǰu* < *ilqa'aǰu*, converbum imperfecti of the factitive of *ilqa-* (= mo. *ilγa-*) 'to choose, select.' Cf. SH *tüge-* 'to complete', fact. *tüge'e-* ~ *tüke'e-* 'to distribute, allot' > *tükē-* (MA, 358a: *tügē-*) id. See JŚ, 67, § 110; HW, 153-154. For the dative-locative (instead of the accusative) of the person performing the action, see GWM, 170-171, § 614.

§ **193**. Here we have another precise date for the actual beginning of the campaign against the Naiman tribe led by Tayang Qan, i.e. 17 May 1204, a day of the 'Red Circle' (*hula'an tergel*) and, therefore, an auspicious day. See above, n. 81. The custom of

sacrificing to the standard (lit. 'sprinkling the standard *with kumis*') has been mentioned before, in § 106. See above, n. 106, for several references to this well-known practice. Cf. also Li, 166, n. 193; above, n. 63, and below, n. 202.

J̌ebe and Qubilai (of the Barulas tribe) had been sent out together on previous missions. Cf. § 153 and com.

For the Sa'ari Steppe see above, n. 128. It is possible that Qangqarqan should be read Qangqar Qan, *qan* 'lord' being often used (but in more modern usage) as an honorific designation of a mountain. Cf. NMP, I, 341; Li, loc. cit. It has been suggested that Qangqar is another name of the Qangqai, i.e. the Khangai range (see Li, 166, n. 193); however, in my view, this is unlikely since this mountain range is mentioned at the very beginning of § 194 in its regular form (Qangqai = Qang*γ*ai, see below). According to N. Poppe (p.c.), Qangqarqan could also be a diminutive form in *-qan* of *qangqar* (= *qangqār*, mo. *qangqa-γar*), i.e. 'rather large.' The Qangqarqan has been identified by Pėrlėė[2], 7, with a mountain in the eastern Khangai called Xanxar Uul at 47° N 101° E. Cf. Pėrlėė[4], 90. This mountain is not marked on the maps available to me, but from its situation as given by Pėrlėė it seems to be close to the Tanui River and the place where Tayang Qan was encamping at the time (see below); this would place it too far west, as the Qangqarqan was a mountain near enough to the Sa'ari Steppe to permit the Naiman scouts to watch the Mongol encampment. It is tempting to identify it with the Qangqarqai mentioned in the *Pei-cheng hou-lu* 北征後錄 of Chin Yu-tzu (see NMP, I, 324), called in Chinese San-hsia k'ou or 'Three Defile Entrance (*or* Pass)' – probably identical with San-kuan k'ou 三關口 – situated in the mountains to the north-west of the Sa'ari Steppe and which, I think, corresponds to the present-day Dasaiïn Ama south of Ulan Bator, but this is evidently too far to the north-east. The Sa'ari Steppe embraced a vast area (about 400 km) from the Kerulen in the east to the plain south and south-west of the Tūla, probably as far as Xögšiniï Tal at 47° N 103° E, the 'classical' portion being, as we know, between the southern bend of the

Tūla and the southern bend of the Kerulen. It seems that in 1204, Činggis Qan's army was deployed in the western portion of the Sa'ari Steppe, in an area somewhere between the Tūla and the Doloon Uul. It must have been in the region between the Doloon Uul and the Orkhon that the encounter with Tayang Qan took place (see § 195 and com.). In that case, Mount Qangqarqan was probably in the northern part of the Doloon Uul. For *teri'ün*, lit. 'head', meaning 'top of a mountain', cf. Dogsürèn 1977, 184.

'Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another' (*bidanu qara'ul-a hüldeldüǰü*), lit. 'A mutual chase by our patrolmen *and theirs* took place.' However, according to Mostaert, the dative-locative suffix ought not to be there [A.M.: '*-a* fautif']. Cf. Oz[1], IV, 291, n. 2.

'The Naiman patrol seized one of (lit. "from") our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor (lit. "bad") saddle.' This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original, and several translators understood it to mean (as I myself did in 1978) that only the white horse with the bad saddle was seized by the Naiman scouts. Cf., Na[2], 238; Ko, 144; Li, 79; Da[5], 143; Ja, 262; Do[1], 183; Ra, VII, 50; Oz[1], IV, 289; On, 96 (and the 2001 ed., 170). However, the correct rendering in Ha, 79, and Cl, 120-121, is supported by the Chinese sectional summary. See Y[2] 7, 25b. Cf. Wa, 275; Wei, 133.

For Dödei Čerbi see above, n. 124. For *duratqa-* 'to suggest, give advice', cf. 'Trois documents', 472.

'It is we who are few *in number* ... exhausted.' For this sentence, cf. Street 1986a, 16-17.

'Each light fires in five different places', lit. 'light fires in five different places per man (= per head).' As noted by Cleaves and by Ligeti, Haenisch's interpretation of this passage (in Ha, 79; 158, n. 193) is off the mark. See Cleaves 1949a, 528-529; Li, 166, n. 193. The verb 'to frighten' is *oqǰatqa-* (w.f. *oγǰatqa-*), factitive of *oqǰat-* (w.f. *oγǰad-*) 'to be frightened'; cf. mo. *oγǰam*, *oγǰom* (kh. *ogcom*) 'abrupt, sudden', and *oγǰomla-* 'to be abrupt; to flare up.' See below, n. 199.

'While we keep them in doubt' (*hülürige'ültele*). For the verb *hülürige'ül-* (fact. of *hülürige-*, w.f. *ülürige-*) 'to cause to be in doubt, to confuse', cf. kh. *gölröx* 'to be absent-minded, to forget oneself.' See Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 76; Oz[1], IV, 293-294, n. 8. This verb is a *hapax legomenon*.

'When our geldings are satiated', lit. 'When we have satiated our geldings.'

'Won't we get the better of them?', lit. 'Will it *not* do (= succeed)?' – a rhetorical question.

'Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: "*Things* being so, let them light the fires!", and he proclaimed *it as* law (*ǰasaq*) to the soldiers', lit. 'at the moment when Činggis Qan gave the order, saying, "...", he proclaimed the *ǰasaq* to the soldiers.' As I stated in de Rachewiltz 1993, 97, 'What Činggis did, then, was to issue the order and proclaim it as *ǰasaγ*, i.e. as if it were a law, or with the full force of the law, meaning that in view of the critical situation facing the Mongols, any breach of this order would be dealt with extreme severity as prescribed by the *ǰasaγ*. In my opinion, this passage has been misunderstood by previous translators, who have incorrectly assumed that *ǰasaγ* here means simply "order." Now, the rather loose usage of the term *yāsā* when an 'order' or 'decree' (*firmān*) is meant in the Islamic sources is well documented, but the Chinese and Mongol sources clearly distinguish between the two, as shown by the consistency of the Chinese renderings (*fa-ling* 法令/*fa-tu* [法度] for *ǰasaγ* and *sheng-chih* 聖旨 for *ǰarliγ*), and by their regular usage in all Mongol documents (epigraphies, edicts) of the Yüan in Uighur and 'Phags-pa scripts. In our passage, *ǰarliγ* is also glossed as *fa-tu* "law" in the Chinese interlinear version [Y[2] 7, 24b].' Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 472, 478. For the *ǰasaq* (= mo. *ǰasaγ*), cf. above, n. 153.

For the simile of the stars, cf. Cl, 121, n. 34.

'They seem to increase daily', lit. 'are they increasing by the day?' (*üdür-tür undurun aqun-ū*). For the verb *undur-* 'to rise, increase', cf. Les., 876a. The reading *ündür-ün* in L[2], 152, and

R, 101, line 6822, 333a (s.v. 'ündür-un'), is incorrect. Cf. Ozawa in DBS, 469-475; Oz[1], IV, 295-296, n. 12.

§ **194**. According to Pėrlėė[2], 7, Qačir Usun ('Mule Water [= River]') probably corresponds to the present-day Xoromsgo Gorxi, i.e. Xoromsgo (= mo. Qormosoγa) Stream (cf. Pėrlėė[1], 70; the 'Khoromogo' of Ra, VII, 70, n. 194, is a mistake for 'Khoromsgo') in the Khangai range at 47° N 102° E (Pėrlėė[2]'s '112°' is an obvious error for '102°' carried over from Pėrlėė[1] – id. in Pėrlėė[4], 90). This stream is not found on our maps, but the position given by Pėrlėė seems to be correct. We know from § 195 that, when Tayang Qan left his camp at Qačir Usun, he went downstream along the Tamir River, i.e. the Urd (or Urida) Tamir Gol of our maps, and crossed the Orkhon. Therefore, his camp must have been in one of the valleys crossed by the tributary streams of the Tamir just south of Tsetserleg, and Qačir Usun was almost certainly one of them. I doubt, however, whether one can identify Qačir Usun with a particular stream in that region. In the SWCCL[1], 54b, the place in question is given as 'the river Qaǰir Usun of the Qangqai Mountain(s).' In his commentary to this passage, Wang Kuo-wei (loc. cit.) says that this is the present-day Ha-jui 哈瑞 River, i.e. the Hanuy (Xanuĭ) Gol, or Khanuy River of our maps, between the Hoyt (Xoĭt) Tamir and Chuluut (Čuluut) rivers, an identification proposed also by T'u Chi (MWESC 2, 28a) and recently adopted by Bazargür and Enkhbayar (CKA, 54b). Unfortunately, this identification is based on wrong phonetic grounds, i.e. the similarity in sound between Ha-jui and Ha-chih-erh (Qaǰir). In my view, it is also unacceptable because it would place the Naiman camp too far to the west. The parallel account by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 147) says that Tayang Qan was 'in the river valley of the Altai at the boundary of the territory of Kankai.' (For the Persian text see SL[1], 15 [1888], 4, line 4.) The name 'Altai' is puzzling. This passage seems to be corrupt: the original text of Rašīd al-Dīn, or the source he used, probably said that Tayang 'had come from the Altai' and was then 'in a

river valley in the Qangqai.' Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 86, and Grousset's remarks in EM, 160, n. 2. In the corresponding passage of the SWCCL there is no mention of the Altai Mountains. N. Poppe (p.c.) indicated that the term 'Altai' does not always mean 'the Altai Mountains', but simply 'snow-covered mountains' (ger. *Hochgebirge*); thus, it could refer to any mountain range. For *qačir* (< tu.) 'mule', cf. Poppe 1955, 40. As for the Khangai range, mentioned in this section of the SH (and nowhere else in the work) in the form Qangqai (= Qangγai; cf. AT[1], 123a, 125b, id.), see Hambis, 36-38; cf. also MGYMC, 332-335, for numerous references to these mountains in the Chinese and Persian sources.

Güčülük (= Küčülüg) is the Turkic word *küčlüg* 'strong' (cf. TMEN, no. 1676), used here as the name of the Naiman prince. On this name/epithet borne by members of the Naiman royal family, see HCG, 305. Güčülük had an adventurous life. After the defeat of his people by Činggis in 1204, he fled to Central Asia and sought asylum in the Qara Kitai capital Balāsāγūn (see above, n. 151). In 1211 he succeeded in deposing the *gür qan* of the Qara Kitai and seized the throne for himself. However, he governed badly and alienated his subjects. In 1218, just before setting out on his campaign against Muḥammad of Khwārazm, Činggis sent J̌ebe to crush him and the Naiman prince was eventually killed by Mongol horsemen on the Pamir. On this personage, see HCSL, 710c, s.v. 'Ch'ü-ch'u-lu'; and below, nn. 202 and 237.

For the passage 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean ... gushes forth?', see Mostaert's discussion and translation in Mo, 113-115.

'To disengage ourselves', lit. 'to separate from one another.'

For the 'preverb' *hirmes* (< *hirme-*, mo. *irme-* 'to blink, wink') in the expression *hirmes ülü ki-* 'not to blink', cf. Bese 1969, 126, n. 5.

'Is it advisable for us/To fight ...?', lit. 'If we fight ... will it do?'

'The southern slopes of the Altai' (*Altai-yin ölkes*). *Ölkes* (pl. of *ölke*) is glossed as *shan-hsia* 山下 'the foot of a mountain', and in § 196 (Y^2 7, 43b) as *shan-ch'ien* 山前 'the front (side) of a mountain', i.e. the southern side. Cf. mo. *ölke* 'sunny side of a mountain' (Les., 633b).

'Fighting a dog's fight' (*noqai kerel kereǰü*) is a technical expression for the well-known military tactics consisting of withdrawing one's soldiers, inducing the enemy to pursue them, suddenly turn back and attack the by then exhausted pursuers – hence the image of fighting, i.e. biting back, like a dog. See Li, 167, n. 194; MNTSZA, 83-85; Oz[1], IV, 305-306, n. 6; Kahn 1996, 101.

'When we have made their bellies leaner', lit. 'making their bellies stretch up', i.e. reducing the volume of their bellies and, therefore, making them fitter for combat. Cf. Mo, 115.

'We shall *turn back and* smash into their faces' lit. 'we shall pour out *our troops* over their faces' – a rather graphic image. Cf. Mo, 115-116.

'Again *that* woman Tayang!' (*ana'ai-yin eme Tayang*). For *ana'ai* (= pmo. *anaɣai*, mo. *anai*), cf. kh. *aanaĭ* 'again (*impatiently*)' (MMED, 2b); Les., 42a. Ozawa reads *ana'āi eyin, eme Tayang* ... 'Once again like this. The woman (like) Tayang ...' (Oz[1], IV, 298, 302, 306-307, n. 8). This emendation is not warranted.

'Most Mongols' (*Mongqol-un olongkin*). For *olongkin*, lit. 'who are *the most* numerous', i.e. 'the majority, most', cf. Cleaves 1950, 111, n. 58. It is worth noting that from this remark of Güčülük it appears that a considerable number of Mongol clans, i.e. clans of the Mongqol tribe, were still rallied around their elected *gür qan* J̌amuqa (cf. above, § 141). J̌amuqa was last mentioned in § 181, when he was still with Ong Qan; when the latter was defeated, he escaped and joined Tayang Qan and the Naiman in their fight against Činggis Qan.

'Who *dares* not walk further than/A pregnant woman *goes to* urinate', lit. 'Who has not yet gone to the urinating place (*ši'eküi qaǰar-a*) of a pregnant woman', but *qaǰar* 'place', means

also 'distance'; hence, *qaǰar-a* should be rendered here, as in § 4 above, as 'for/at a distance', i.e. 'as far as, no further than.' In other words, Tayang Qan is so hesitant and weak-hearted that he does not dare go out of his tent and cover even the short distance a pregnant woman would go to urinate. The same idea is expressed in the next sentence (lit. 'Who does not *even* venture so far as/A wheel-*tied* calf *reaches* for its feed') which, however, is understood differently by different translators. *Gürdün-ü tuqul* is, literally, 'a wheel's calf.' This expression is understood by Haenisch to mean a calf as tall as a wheel (Ha, 80), by Kozin as a calf that turns around because it is sick (Ko, 146), by Ligeti as a calf which is as round as a wheel (Li, 80), by Damdinsürėn as a small calf (Da[5], 144), and by Murakami, Ozawa, Cleaves, Onon, Even and Pop, among others, as a calf tied or tethered to a (cart) wheel near the tent to prevent it from sucking its mother's milk, since she is milked every day (Mu, II, 262, 270, n. 13; Oz[1], IV, 302, 307-308, n. 11 [cf. Oz[2], II, 24, 42, n. 4]; Cl, 123 and n. 41; On, 97; Ev-Pop, 153, 287, n. 31), etc. I now believe that Murakami's interpretation (which is only a refinement on that in Na[2], 241) is the correct one. Güčülük's insolent words in alliterative form are no doubt an ancient saying. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 72. For *tuqul* (= mo. *tuγul*) 'calf less than a year old', cf. TMEN, no. 909; RH, 217, no. 20.

The high official, or great chief (*yeke noyan*), Qori Sübeči had already appeared in § 188.

'Never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match' – almost certainly an idiomatic phrase. The meaning is, of course, that he would never flee when facing an adversary of equal or superior strength. For *nökör* 'companion' meaning also 'enemy', cf. above, n. 153.

For the construction of the sentence *čimayi eyin … bö'esü* 'Had we known …', cf. *Lettres*, 68-69.

'Even though she is *only* a woman' (*qadun* [= *qatun*] *ber gü'ün bö'esü*), lit. 'even though she is *but* a lady person', or 'lady person (= woman) that she is.'

'What a pity, alas' (*čima qayiran*). For *čima*, an exclamation of pity and regret glossed as a 'sighing sound' (嘆聲), cf. Oz[1], IV, 310, n. 15.

On Kökse'ü Sabraq, an army leader of Tayang Qan last mentioned in § 190, see § 159 and com. This is the only reference to his advanced age.

'The discipline in our army' (*čerig-ün bidan-u ǰasal*). For *ǰasal* '(military) order, discipline', cf. tu. *yasal* 'army order' (MA, 408b); TMEN, no. 1791.

'*This* is, surely, the *favourable* time and destiny of the Mongols *decreed by Heaven and Earth*' (*Mongqol-un čaq ǰaya'an bui je*), i.e. the turn in favour of the Mongols as preordained by Heaven and Earth. Cf. § 248, where the same expression is used in its full form, i.e. with *both* Heaven and Earth specifically mentioned as the preordainers of the destiny (*ǰaya'an*; see above, n. 1), and the favourable time (*čaq*).

'We are finished!', lit. 'it has not become *favourable for us*' (*ese bolbi*). The interlinear gloss is *pu chung liao* 不中了 'it is of no avail (*or* it cannot be done, it's no good)', i.e. 'we are not going to succeed.' Cf. Če, 163: *bütükü ügei bolba* 'it has become not feasible (*or* impossible)'; and Da[5], 145: *Bid diĭldèx bolno* 'We shall be defeated.'

'It looks as if you are quite powerless', lit. 'you are just (*ele*) as though unable.' Cf. Street 1986, 25.

'Having struck on his quiver', no doubt to emphasize his decision to leave and abandon Tayang Qan to his fate – much as a Chinese would have said 'having shaken his sleeve' (拂袖). Wa, 277 ('after giving his horse a tap with his quiver'), has misunderstood the text of the sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 31a). Cf. Wei, 135.

'He trotted off *and went his* separate way' (*buru'u qataraba*), lit. 'he trotted off separately', i.e. he went his own way, abandoning Tayang Qan.

§ **195**. 'A life *means* to die, a body *means* to suffer: it is the same *destiny* for all!' This conception of life is at the very root of the

Weltanschauung of the ancient Turkish and Mongolian people. Cf., e.g., the Kül Tigin Inscription (AD 732), where we read: 'Human beings have all been created in order to die' (*kisī oγlī qop ölgäli törūmis*). See GOT, 237, 271. Cf. MCPA, 43.

According to Grousset (CW, 151), 'Mount Naqu ... apparently corresponds to the Mount Namogo of our maps, or rather one of the neighbouring escarpments, north of Qara-qorum and Kosho-tsaydam', adding in a note 'Probably opposite the junction of the Tamir and the Orkhon. Cf. the map in Bouillane de Lacoste, *Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs*, p. 54.' Cf. EM, 163, 468. For Pėrlėė[2], 5, 'Naku Gün' is the mountain now called Laxu Bayan (Uul) at 47° N 104° E in the Dašinčilėn Sum of Bulgan Aĭmag, (cf. Pėrlėė[4], 94, where '140' is a misprint for '104'). In Map[1] (Sheet NL 48), Dashinchiling Suma is marked at 47° 51 N 104° 03 E (cf. GM, 62b-63a), but Laxu (Lakhu) Bayan is not marked. Both the identifications of Grousset and Pėrlėė are based on phonetic grounds. However, Grousset's 'Namogo' does not relate to Naqu, but to Nomoqan ('Peaceful'), one of the commonest names in Mongolian topography. Cf. GM, 165-166. Although Pėrlėė's identification is probably correct, one would be inclined to identify the Naqu of the SH with the first mountainous area that Tayang Qan was likely to meet on his way from the Orkhon to the Sa'ari Steppe, i.e. the mountains south-east of the Ügey (Ügeĭ) Nuur and north-west of the Doloon Uul at 47° 42 N 103° 07 E, among which rises the Yihe Berke Uula (Ix Bėrx Uul), the 'Great Steep Mountain.' If so, the site of Čakirma'ut should be looked for east or south-east of these mountains, possibly in the valley of the Gashunii Gol and Taranaiin Gol, just north of Doloon Uul. Pėrlėė[2], 9, identifies Čakirma'ut with present-day Caxirmoors at 47° N 104° E (in GM, 220b, a Tsakhirin Khural is listed at 47° 38 N 104° 25 E), which is certainly in the same general area. As for the name Čakirma'ut, according to N. Poppe (p.c.) it is a plural of **čakirmaγ*, a word corresponding to kir. *čaγïrmaq* 'a 3-year-old deer.' See KiRS, II, 334a, s.v. 'čagyrmak I.'

'The more numerous, the greater damage (i.e. the loss); the less numerous, the lesser damage.' Cleaves translates differently: '[The issue] will be adversities [either which are] more than many or [which are] fewer than few', adding in a footnote, 'This seems to mean, "It is all or nothing", i.e., "We shall risk all."' See Cl, 124 and n. 48; and Cleaves 1986, 196, n. 26. Cf., however, Oz[1], IV, 322, 325-326, n. 2; On, 98; Če, 163; and Ev-Pop, 154. A contrast is clearly implied here between the large army of Tayang Qan and the less numerous forces of Činggis Qan. See Dödei Čerbi's remarks on the subject in § 193: 'It is we who are few *in number* ... They say the Naiman people are numerous ... .' Činggis indicates that by using the correct strategy in attacking the enemy, the smaller but more mobile army of the Mongols will be able to inflict substantial losses on the Naiman, who are hampered by their own size. The military tactics he employed on this occasion are mentioned immediately after.

Qaraqana, mo. *qar(a)γana*, *qaraγuna*, kh. *xargana*, is the *Caragana As.* of which there are several species (*C. arborescens*, *C. jubata*, *C. spinosa*, etc.). See MOUNT, 24, where 'Karagana' *tout court* is given as *Caragana Lam.* Cf. Les., 933a; MED, 431a. Ours is, probably, the *Caragana arborescens*, also known as the Siberian (false) acacia, the Siberian pea-tree, etc. Cf. TMEN, no. 275; UNT, 118-119, no. 15196a; GSE, IX, 429b. This plant is a shrub or small tree, common in Siberia and northern Mongolia. According to Cleaves, the 'caragana marching-order' (*qaraqana yorčil*) meant 'to march with the troops massed in close order in the manner of the *qaraγana*, a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe' (Cl, 124, n. 49). Onon, on the other hand, following Do[1], 193-195, says that it 'involved dividing the soldiers into many small groups which, although keeping contact with each other, maintained a low profile as they advanced' (On, 98, n. 244; 2001 ed., 173, n. 438). For Cleaves (loc. cit.), the 'lake battle-formation' (*na'ur bayildu'a*) meant 'to deploy with the troops widely scattered in the manner of the water of a lake

which spreads over a large area', whereas Onon (loc. cit.) says that it entailed sending 'waves of men' to surround and attack the enemy on all sides. For Cleaves (loc. cit.), to fight a 'chisel combat' (*ši'üči qatquldu'a*) meant to attack the enemy thrusting at his centre and penetrating straight into it like a chisel which is thrust into a piece of wood, whereas for Onon (2001 ed., ibid.), it entailed hand-to-hand combat by a line of soldiers driving straight through the middle of the enemy ranks. The word *ši'üči* 'chisel' corresponds to mo. *čüče* id. Cf. DO, 721a. For a further discussion of these tactics, cf. MNTSZA, 85-88; Nam 1994, 203. However, as pointed out by both Ligeti and Ozawa, we can only speculate on the exact meaning of these technical expressions. See Li, 167, n. 195; Oz[1], IV, 326, n. 3. In fact, N. Poppe (p.c.) suggested that there may never have been such battle-formations and that the text could be understood as follows: 'Moving (going, marching) through a caragana growth, fighting at the lake signpost (*bayi-du*, i.e. *bayi* [= Writ. Mong. *bai*] "signpost, milepost" + dat.-loc. suffix *-du*), let us fight with spears (*verbatim* let us sting, prick) a chisel-like spearfight.' None of the other sources mention specifically the type of battle-formation and attack chosen by Činggis Qan, but Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 147-148), describing these events, records how J̌amuqa was so impressed by the battle-formation (*yāsāmīšī*) of his *anda* that he pointed it out to his companions (*nököt*) as being unlike any other, so much so that he promptly left the battlefield and abandoned Tayang Qan. Cf. the parallel passage in SWCCL[1], 55b, where Činggis Qan's movements are described (by J̌amuqa) as 'extraordinary' (*ying-i* 英異). Therefore, we are almost certainly dealing here with tactical terminology.

It is worth noting that while Činggis led the vanguard (lit. 'became the vanguard': *alginčilaǰu*, here = *manglailaǰu*), he put his brother J̌oči Qasar in charge of the main body of the army (*qol ǰasa'ulba*), and his youngest brother Temüge Otčigin, called here Otčigin Noyan as in § 190, in charge of the reserve horses. The latter's appointment must be related to his remarks concerning the leanness or fatness of the geldings in § 190. For

this passage, cf. CLC, 114-115; Oz[1], IV, 327-328, n. 4; TMEN, nos. 324, 325 (on *kötöl*, pl. *kötöt*). Cf. above, n. 66.

'At that time J̌amuqa had *also* set forth with his troops', lit. 'Then J̌amuqa, *his* army setting forth.' For *čerik morila-*, cf. Cleaves 1996, 24, n. 162.

'Who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen?', lit. 'who are like wolves chasing many sheep and come, chasing them to the sheep-pen?' For Tayang Qan's question to J̌amuqa, and the wolf and sheep simile, cf. Poucha 1955, 166-168. With his question regarding the identity of Činggis Qan's companions (*nököt*) we are introduced to the poetic passage that follows which describes in epic imagery the characteristics of the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*), viz. J̌ebe (see § 146), Qubilai (see § 120), J̌elme (see § 97), and Sübe'etei (see § 120 and below, n. 199). The question itself is couched in epic language, with the word *hüldeǰü* 'chasing, pursuing' repeated three times. Cf. Vlad.[2], 115-116. This is the first occurrence of the expression *dörben noqas* (written *noqais* in the text), analogous to the *dörben külü'üt*, or 'four steeds' (Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un) of § 163, the eight captains hand-picked by Činggis Qan as his 'stalwarts', i.e. as his chief lieutenants. On the symbolism of the number four, see above, n. 163. As in the case of the 'four steeds', the 'four hounds' became legendary figures in the later epic. See MNTSZA, 31-40. For the fusion of the two groups in the subsequent development of the legend, see HCG, 340-341. With the addition of Šigi Qutuqu (see § 135), the eight heroes in time became nine (the 'symbolic' number *par excellence*), thus forming the élite group of Činggis' companions celebrated in Mongolian literature as the *yisün örlüg* or 'Nine Paladins' (for the term *örlük*, pl. *örlü'üt* 'valiant, hero', etc., see § 201 and com.). Throughout § 195, the word *noqas* (pl. of *noqai* 'dog, hound') is transcribed in Chinese with a redundant *-i-*: *noqais*. Cf. § 209: *dörben noqas*. On these forms, see Street 1990a, 352, 2.3 (D), 373, 8.3. For the plural form in *-s* v. that in *-t* (*noqot*, §

260), see Poppe 1975, 167. Cf. the remarks in Га, 364-365, n. 571.

For the poetic passage on the 'four hounds', see Mo, 11-12, 194-195. *Širemün* originally meant 'hardened (pig) copper', as indicated by the glosses of the SH (cf. HW, 142) and the HIIY (cf. *Matériel I*, 98). In Written Mongolian and the modern languages and dialects it means 'cast (pig) iron.' Cf., e.g., Les., 716b; DO, 623b; MED, 544b; Khomonov 1970, 37. The word occurs also fairly frequently as a proper name, borne mainly by Nestorian Christians, in which case it renders the Biblical name Solomon. See MPa, 223-224, n. 4. Cf. also HCG, 377; NHHO, 46; and, more recently, Rybatzki 2002, 99-102. It is the foreheads (*manglai*) of the 'four hounds' that are made of cast copper, not their helmets as in Cl, 125. This solves one of the 'anachronisms' in the SH which have puzzled Reid 1992, 89.

Mina'atan 'having whips (pl.)': *mina'a* 'whip' = mo. *milaγa* id. For *n* > *l*, see IMCS, 164, § 104 (B). See also above, n. 76, and below, n. 255.

'They advance feeding on (lit. "eating") dew/And riding on the wind', i.e. they are supernatural beings. The image is reminiscent of the Chinese (Taoist) 'immortals' (*hsien* 仙), and is rather incongruous when applied to bloodthirsty hounds, certainly insofar as their eating dew is concerned.

'On the day of killing .../On the day of battles ...', lit. 'The day(s) when one slays one another .../The day(s) when one meets *on the battlefield* (= one fights one another) ... .' Cf. Poppe 1969, 274.

'Which had surely restrained them!' renders the words *ese'ǖ buqsaǰu aqsat*, lit. 'have (*or* had) they not been restrained?' – a rhetorical question implying an emphatic positive reply. The verb *buqsa-* is glossed in Chinese as *chü-shu* 拘束 'to hamper, restrain; to feel restrained', but mo. *buγsa-* means only 'to be angry and sulk (for nothing).' Clearly the Written Mongolian meaning is a semantic development of the earlier meaning of being, or feeling, restrained or hampered. However, Ozawa, followed by Even and Pop, has adopted the later acceptation of

the verb and translated accordingly ('being angry'). See Oz[1], IV, 323, 329, n. 6. Cf. Ev-Pop, 155: 'la rage au coeur'. The context also supports the rendering of the Chinese gloss.

For *šilemelǰen* 'slavering *at the mouth*, drivelling', see Mo, 121; 'Trois documents', 459, n. 46; and above, n. 168.

'Let us then stay away from those vile *creatures*!', lit. 'Just (*ele*) let us stay far from those lowly ones!' For a discussion of the corroborative/limitative particle *ele* and this passage, see Street 1986, 44-45; Oz[1], IV, 330-331, n. 7. In this instance, however, I prefer to render *ele* with 'then', since – as evident from the Chinese summary (Y[2] 7, 40b: 似那般呵) and from subsequent passages – *ele* implies also the conditional 'if this is so; this being the case' in addition to its corroborative function. Cf. Street 1990, 194.

'Took up position astride (lit. "straddling") the mountain' (*a'ula asan bayiba*), i.e. with part of his troops on the plain and part on the mountain-side. Cf. Wa, 278; Cl, 125 ('straddling the mountain [and the plain]').

'Approaching from the rear', lit. 'Approaching from the back of that' (*te'unü qoyinača … ayisuqun*), 'that' being the people/situation just referred to, viz. the 'four hounds' released by Činggis Qan. For this use of the pronoun *tere*, cf. Street 1990, 176-180, § 1.3.

'Encircling them … encircling us': the text says only *to'oriqaǰu* and *to'oriqan*, both converbs of *to'oriqa-* 'to surround, encircle' (preceding the verb *ayis-* 'to approach'), a factitive form of *to'ori-* (= mo. *toγori-*) 'to turn about, make circles.' In § 170, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut are already mentioned, also in a short poetic passage, in connection with their ability to carry out military manoeuvres which involved 'turning about' (*to'ori-*) and 'wheeling round' (*derel-*) without breaking ranks (see above, n. 170). In our passage, however, there is no question of using such a tactic, i.e. turning around and feigning retreat; the verb used (*to'oriqa-*) can only mean 'to surround, encircle.' The objects of this factitive verb are obviously Tayang Qan and J̌amuqa who, in the simile, are

likened to the foal's mother. The translations of Cleaves and Onon do not take this fact into account. See Cl, 125, and On, 2001 ed., 174 ('making circles'). The Chinese interlinear version renders the words *eke-yü'en horčin torolun güyigü unuqat metü* as 'like foals that run without restraint (疾靈) circling round their mother.' The word *torolun* is the iterative or frequentative in *-l-* of *toro-*, a verb meaning in the modern Mongolian languages 'to run or bump into, to knock against, to stumble' (kh., bur.), 'to stick, to cling; to fall into or against, something' (kalm.). In Written Mongolian we find only *tor-* 'to get stuck' (Les., 825b) – corresponding to ord. *t'or-* 'to be stopped, to become tangled up in something' – which also occurs in the SH (further on in the same § 195) with the meaning of 'to get stuck.' Clearly, Preclassical Mongolian had two distinct verbs, viz. *toro-* 'to move or act in a free, unrestrained way', and *tor-* 'to get stuck', which in some modern languages have coalesced into *toro-*, whereas in others and in Written Mongolian only *tor-* has survived.

For the 'blood-stained clothing', see above, n. 187. For the verb *tono-* 'to strip off, remove the clothing', see ibid. and n. 136; and for the expression *üb tonaq* (= *tonoq*), cf. DO, 668a. See also CEME, 27 and n. 1.

For the poetic passage about the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, cf. Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 25; Poppe 1969, 274; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 183, n. 10.

'Retreating further up the mountain', lit. 'climbing (*abarin*) the mountain farther to the rear.'

'The one approaching from the rear', i.e. coming behind the Uru'ut and the Mangqut. Cf. above, and the sectional summary (Y^2 7, 40b: 隨後 'following behind'). The interrogative pronoun 'who?' (*ken*) is in the singular.

On the poetic passage about Temüǰin, see Mo, 117-121. Cf. also Street 1986a, 22-24.

'My sworn friend Temüǰin is indeed (*lu*) … him?' For these words, and the use of the particle *lu*, cf. ibid., and Mo, 102. For the interrogative particle *-yu'u/-yü'ü* (= pmo. *-yuɣu/-yügü*), see

also Mo, 102. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 52, n. 3; Cleaves 1982, 77, n. 13 (where, however, the reading *uqamuiu*[*ɣu*] proposed by Cleaves should, I think, be amended to *uqamuyu*[*ɣu*], i.e. *uqamu* + *-yuɣu*, the praesens imperfecti suffix *-mu* (v. *-mui*) being the only one attested in the *Hsiao-ching*. Cf. *IVLMMT*, I/2, 82 (s.v. 'bol-'), 87 (s.v. 'čida-'). Here *šiba'un* 'bird' (cf. § 111) = 'falcon.' See HW, 139.

'You would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof.' Cf. § 277: 'you haven't yet acquired *as booty* even the hoof of a kid.' The hoof of a kid is a worthless thing and the skin of a kid's hoof even more so (if possible). What J̌amuqa says is that the Naiman had boasted that in an encounter with the Mongols they would utterly despoil them, so great was their disregard, witness Tayang Qan's and Gürbesü's earlier contemptuous remarks (§ 189; cf. also § 190). A different interpretation, based indirectly on the sectional summary version of J̌amuqa's words, is found in the YS[2] 1, 12-13. The sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 41a) says: 'You (Tayang Qan) said, "If I see a Ta-ta (= Mongol), it will be like (seeing) small *ku-li* (= goat) kids. Not even the skin of (their) hoofs will be left." Now, have a look!' The YS version runs as follows: 'At that time, J̌amuqa ... said, "When the Naiman first took up arms, they regarded the Mongolian army as if it was (made of) goat kids." The meaning was that they would not leave even (their) hoofs' skins.' Commenting on this passage, Hung 1956, 28, n. 5, writes: 'Since pig's feet, when thoroughly cleaned and well cooked, are a well-known delicacy in China, one naturally draws the inference that J̌amuɣa meant that the Naiman intended to devour the Mongolian army, leaving no remnant at all.' The same (incorrect) interpretation is followed by Waley in translating the sectional summary passage (Wa, 278): 'You people once said, "If we met the Mongols, we would gobble them down as one might the kid of a goat, not leaving so much as the skin of a hoof unswallowed."' In the original text, however, there is no mention of gobbling down and swallowing. In the corresponding passages of the SWCCL (see SWCCL[1], 55b; but cf. SWCCL[3], 139a-140a) and SL[2], I/2,

148, although the text of the former is corrupt, the meaning of J̌amuqa's words is that the Naiman used to say that they would despoil the Mongols to the extent of not leaving them even the skin of their oxen's hoofs – evidently another variant of the same story. In my view, the correct interpretation of our passage is the one given by Cleaves: 'The goat (*imaγan*) is the animal which, with the Mongols, has the least value. Of the five kinds of livestock (*tabun qosiγu mal*), i.e., the horse (*morin*), the camel (*temegen*), the ox (*üker*), the sheep (*qonin*), and the goat (*imaγan*), it is the last in order. Consequently, the skin from the extremity of the foot of a kid (*esige*) is something which is almost less than nothing.' (Cl, 126-127, n. 51.)

'*This is* simply dreadful! (*ele amsa'ari*). The word *amsa'ari* (w.f. *amsaγari*) is rendered as *k'o-chü* 可懼 'dreadful' in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary (Y^2 7, 41a); its meaning is, therefore, assured and the recent reinterpretation of it on the basis of modern Buriat *amhagar* as 'fool' is unwarranted. See, e.g., Oz[1], IV, 324, 341-342, n. 15. So is the rendering 'awkward' in On, 100, 'implying something unplanned, a "gap" in one's strategy', which Onon relates to *amasar* 'opening' (see ibid., n. 246; 2001 ed., 175, n. 442), likewise on the basis of the Buriat form (see TH, 90 [= ǰYT, 158]). Equally untenable is the interpretation in Če, 167. I think that *amsa'ari* is probably a deverbal noun in *-ri* of *amsa'a-* 'to cause to try (*or* test).' See 'Nominalsuff.', 107, § 3; MÜIT, 113b. Cf. eng. 'trying' = 'severely testing, hard to endure, etc.' With the particle *ele* preceding it, it would acquire the force of eng. 'simply dreadful!', 'just awful!', and the like. Only in this acceptation it could be translated also as 'very awkward' and 'most awkward', as in Onon's versions.

'*As if* in a compact mass' (*ǰuǰa'an-a*), lit. 'thickly (*or* massively).' In the sectional summary (Y^2 7, 41a), *ǰuǰa'an-a* (dat.-loc. of *ǰuǰa'an*, mo. *ǰuǰaγan* 'thick, compact, massive') is rendered as 'a multitude of warriors' (多軍馬). Pa, 107; Wei, 136; and Wa, 278, all understand this rendering in the sense of 'leading' or 'with' the large force coming next, as I did in Ra,

VII, 74, under the influence of the interlinear gloss of *ǰuǰa'an-a* (厚行) 'thickly.' However, I think that, in the present context, the dense mass or throng of warriors is simply an image referring to the physical appearance of J̌oči Qasar which is so graphically described in the poetic passage, and does not mean that he was 'together' with other people; therefore, the sectional summary rendering cannot be taken literally (as Onon and others have done) when translating the Mongolian original. See the discussion in Oz[1], IV, 342-343, n. 16. Cf. Ev-Pop, 156: 'd'une telle épaisseur', which succinctly renders the idea. Da[5], 147, translates *ǰuǰa'an-a* with *nüser am'tan* 'clumsy creature', possibly under the influence of Ko, 148, who renders this sentence as: 'And who is the one moving so heavily (*gruzno*) behind him?' Incidentally, I do not think that *tere* and *qoyinača* should be taken together ('behind him' *or* 'behind them') as most translators do (cf., e.g., Li, 82; Cl, 127), and I agree with Oz[1], IV, 324, that *tere* refers to Qasar, not to Temüǰin or the preceding warriors described by J̌amuqa, in which case we would have *te'ün-ü* (or *teden-ü*) *qoyinača*.

'Three-year old cattle' (*qunaǰin bodo*). The term *bodo* (= mo. *boda*) designates large domestic animals, such as horses, oxen and camels, as opposed to small ones (sheep and goats). See Les., 108b; MKeT, 1003b. Cf. above, n. 155.

'He is pulled along *in his cart* by three bulls', lit. 'He approaches, causing three bulls to drag *his cart*.' Several translators understand this line to mean that Qasar was so big and heavy that he needed three bulls to pull him – an interpretation that cannot be discounted. For the repetition of the number 'three' (fathoms, years of age of the animal and number of bulls) in these passages, see below.

'It does not fill his stomach', lit. 'It does not satisfy *his* heart (*öre*).' Cf. On, 100: 'It does not satisfy his desire ("craving" in the 2001 ed., 175).' However, in this case *öre* (= mo. *örö*) does not mean 'heart' or 'desire', but 'pit of the stomach.' See Oz[1], IV, 344, n. 18. Cf. above, n. 137.

'A forked-tip arrow (*angqu'a sumu*) .../A long-range thin arrow (*keyibür sumu*).' The *angqu'a* and *keyibür* arrows are two types of arrows used by the Mongols and, as pointed out by Ligeti, they must have been long-distance arrows of great strength. See Li, 167, n. 195. *Angqu'a* corresponds to mo. *angγa*, the name of a two-pointed arrow. See Les., 43b. Cf. TH, 87 (= ǰYT, 154); Oz[1], IV, 346, n. 20. As for *keyibür*, described in Les., 444b, as 'A kind of arrow used for long distance', it was of the 'boring' javelin-type, hence long and thin. Its name survives in ma. *keifu* 'Durchbohrer, Name einer Pfeilart' (HM, 579), as also noted by Ligeti, loc. cit. See CMEL, 173b: 'the name of an arrow used for shooting tigers, bears, and buck deer.' Cf. also Oz[1], IV, 345, n. 20. Some additional data on the *keyibür* arrows can be gleaned from the Mongol glosses to the MA published by A.K. Borovkov, informing us that they were 'arrows with a long and broad head' (Borovkov 1964, 145, no. 9). The *keifu* arrow also had a broad head, as we learn from the WTCWC, I, 1054.4. A *keyibür* arrow is mentioned by Saγang Sečen (see ET[3], 54r02; cf. GOM, 151), from whom we further learn that it had an 'iron (head).' See ET[3], 54r09. Written Mongolian has *qayimuγur*, *qayimūr*, which designates an arrow with a small head and a slender shaft used for shooting at distant targets. It corresponds to ma. *kalbikū*. See Les., 913a; CMEL, 170b. Ev-Pop, 157, 283, n. 35, following Če, 168, 422-423, n. 416, identifies our *keyibür* with *qayimūr* and renders the expression *keyibür sumu* as 'flèche de fer', explaining in the note that it was 'une fine flèche de fer destinée à tirer loin.' This interpretation goes back (via Če) to Kow., 710b-711a, where *qayimuγur*, *qayimur* is glossed as 'espèce de flèches avec le fer triangulaire.' Kowalewski's source is QNTT, 292b, where *qayimuγur* is described as 'a long-range arrow with a rather small, thin iron shaft.' There is evidently a confusion in the glossary descriptions between the head and the shaft of the *qayimuγur* arrow; thus, the identification of the latter with the *keyibür* of the SH remains speculative. For a further, and even more speculative, discussion on the subject, see Γa, 367a-b, n.

577, where *keyibür* is related to mo. *keyisbüri* 'lightheaded, insubstantial, etc.', hence 'light and fast.' See Les., 445a; Cėv., 676b; MKeT, 1277b. Cf. Da[5], 148: *xiišvėr sumaa*, rendered as 'flowing arrow' in Tserensodnom 1993, 198. Cf. Da[2], 180: 'a full-speed arrow.' As for its etymology, the word *keyibür* is formed on *kei* 'wind' + the denominal noun suffix *-bür(/-bur)*. See MÜIT, 2551a, no. 81. In translating this poem I have now preferred to render the arrow names in English, at the cost of being less accurate, rather than to leave them in the original Mongolian form as previously done. See Ra, VII, 55. I have also revised the translation of the passage concerning the *keyibür* arrow.

'He shoots and pierces through his enemies,/The ones he fights/Who are beyond the steppe', lit. 'He shoots to run through and pierce the "companions" (= enemies) with whom he has a fight and who are beyond (i.e. on the other side of) the steppe.'

'Drawing *his bow* to the full ... *only* a little', lit. 'drawing very much (Cl, 128: "in a great manner") ... restraining (*or* lessening: *tatan* = ger. *nachlassend*).' In this passage Qasar is described as a superhuman, monstrous being by a skilful use of a hyperbole in which the qualities of the hero are trebled in magnitude. I have discussed this passage in de Rachewiltz 1976, 490-491, and 503, n. 36. Some of my statements in that paper must be revised in the light of the present translation and in particular the one in note 36 on p. 503 to the effect that Qasar was 'strong enough to drag three bulls', which should now read: 'with three bulls drawing him (i.e. his cart).' The Mongol 'fathom' (*alda*) corresponded to 1.55-1.60 m. Like the term 'fathom' in old English usage (fr. *brasse*), the *alda* (pl. *aldas*), as the Mongol basic measure of length, is the distance between the fingertips of two outstretched arms. Qasar's three *aldas* of stature as given at the beginning of the poem would, therefore, correspond to a little less than 5 m. The 900 and 500 *aldas* of his long-distance shots would correspond to about 1,400 m. and a little less than 800 m. respectively. In the case of 'three' and '900' (a multiple of 3, 30 and 300), the triple hyperbole would

have to be reduced to 'one' and '300' *aldas* respectively in order to be realistic, i.e. to 1.55 – 1.60 m. in stature, and to about 470 m. for the long shot. We know from Rašīd al-Dīn that Qasar was, indeed, famous for his physical strength, not for his stature (see SL^2, I/2, 51), and that he was a superb archer, a fact that earned him the appellation of Qabutu ('Skilful Archer') in the later Mongol tradition. Cf. HCG, 173-174. His son Yisüngge was, possibly, an even better archer, having won an archery contest in Central Asia in 1225 at which he shot an arrow at the distance of 335 *aldas* (= ca. 530 m.), i.e. 35 *aldas* above the 300 which Qasar could achieve drawing his bow at full strength (if we reduce the hyperbole as suggested). Although the '500' of our poem is obviously not an ideal triple hyperbole, the choice of this figure was probably determined by the poetic requirements, with the alliteration ***ta**tan … **ta**bun* (*ǰa'ut*). However, as I stated in my paper on the 'Stele of Yisüngge' (ibid., 503, n. 36), we are dealing here with an epic passage and cannot therefore expect strict consistency or, indeed, accuracy. To the literature on arrow-shooting in Mongol times one must add the interesting article by Hok-lam Chan, 'Siting by Bowshot: A Mongolian Custom and Its Sociopolitical and Cultural Implication' in *AM* (Third Series) 4.2:1991, 53-78.

'He covers nine hundred fathoms …/He covers five hundred fathoms', lit. 'He shoots a distance of nine hundred fathoms …/He shoots a distance of five hundred fathoms.'

'He was born a coiling dragon-snake', lit. 'a coiling *mangqus*' (*gürölgü mangqus*). In Ra, VII, 75-77, I have discussed at length the possible interpretations of the expression *gürölgü mangqus* which in my earlier translation I rendered 'a coiling dragon' (ibid., 55). I gave my reasons for taking *gürölgü* to mean 'coiling', i.e. writhing or twisting as a snake, on the basis of Ordos, as against the identification of this word with the Gürelgü (~ Gürölgü) Mountains of the SH (on which see above, n. 89). See Mu, II, 279, 294, n. 21; Oz^2, II, 29. I should add that the Ming translators and transcribers of the SH were well acquainted with the geographic name Gürelgü; however, in the

interlinear version they did not gloss *gürölgü* as 'name of a mountain' (山名; see Y^2 2, 27a et passim, cf. GHMBKZ, 368a, 375a) as they would have done in that case, but glossed it as *mang ming* 蟒名 'name of a large snake (such as a python).' The sectional summary (op. cit. 7, 41b) renders the expression *gürölgü mangqus* as 'a kind of large *mang*' (大蟒一般), thus confirming the interlinear gloss. While I do not share Murakami's and Ozawa's opinion that the *gürölgü* of our passage is the mountains' name, I think that both words are, in fact, identical, i.e. the name of the mountains and the attribute of the *mangqus* in § 195 are the nomen futuri of *gürel-* ~ *güröl-* 'to twist continuously', the iterative form in *-l-* (see GWM, 64, § 236) of *güre-* ~ *gürö-* (= mo. *gürü-*, *görö-*, *güre-*) 'to twist, braid, weave.' Cf. ord. *gürelǰi-* (*GɯrelDži-*) 'se mouvoir en faisant des replis (serpent)' (DO, 278a). In the case of the Gürelgü Mountains, the verbal noun is the descriptive attribute of the mountain range, i.e. 'The Twisting Mountains', in contrast to a 'straight' range of mountains. As for *mangqus*, mo. *mangγus*, we encountered this term in the famous 'Hö'elün's Lament' in § 78, where in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary it is rendered as *mang-she* '*mang*-snake' = 'a very large snake' (Y^2 2, 11b, 12b). There are good reasons for rendering *mangqus* with 'dragon' on the basis of a medieval Persian text definition, as I have shown in my earlier discussion. Cf. also Serruys 1982, 480, n. 35. The difference between a monstrous super-snake and a dragon is, indeed, blurred, hence the variations we find in the modern translations, e.g. Pe, 136 (§ 78: 'boa'); Ha, 14 (§ 78: 'boa constrictor'), 83 (§ 195: 'Gurelgu Snake'); Ko, 91 (§ 78: 'demon-snake'); Li, 22 (§ 78: 'snake'), 83 (§ 195: 'dragon-snake'); Lörincz 1971, 57, n. 17 ('dragon'); CW, 153 ('dragon'); Mo, 111, n. 105 ('python'); Cl, 23, 128 ('python'); Oz^2, I, 62 ('a large snake'). As already noted, neither 'boa' nor 'python' are suitable definitions since the boa is an American snake, and the python is found only in tropical Asia and Australia. Clearly, before the *mangqus* developed

under Buddhist influence into the man-eating ogre and demon (skr. *rākṣasa*) of the later Mongol tradition (see Lörincz 1970), this already mythical animal was regarded as a monstrous snake- or dragon-like creature capable of swallowing its prey alive. Cf. § 78, where the prey is not specified, however, and our poetic passage which speaks of the '*gürölgü mangqus*' Qasar swallowing a man complete with quiver who 'does not get stuck in his throat.' To explain the presence of this myth in ancient, pre-Buddhist Mongolian folklore, Gaadamba put forth the theory that *gürölgü mangqus* = mo. *gürbel mangγus* 'lizard-*mangγus*', i.e. a lizard-like monster whose existence may have been inferred by the ancient Mongols from the discovery of dinosaur remains. Although speculative, this theory is ingenious and has found favour among some contemporary translators. See Gaadamba 1972, 95-100; On, 101 and n. 249 (however, in the 2001 ed., 176, the 'lizard-like monster' has become 'a huge monster', following Do[1], 199-200, n. 14); Ev-Pop, 157. While Gaadamba's interpretation cannot be discounted, it is certain from the scanty literary evidence we possess that the *mangqus* was regarded by the Mongols in Činggis Qan's times as a large animal with dragon- and/or snake-like physical characteristics which cannot be exactly determined. (Similarly we find in the ancient Chinese dragon-lore instances of hybrid dragon/snake creatures like the *mang-lung* 蟒龍 and *she-lung* 蛇龍; and in later Buddhist texts, a 'Mangγus, king of the dragons', see BTD, 239, no. 3248.) For this reason in the present translation I have adopted for *mangqus* Ligeti's compromise rendering 'dragon-snake' which reflects the ambiguity of the original. As for the origin of the word *mangqus* (= *mangγus*), I suspect that it is an early borrowing from ch. *mang* 蟒 (ach. **mâng*) + the connective vowel *-u-* + the plural suffix *-s*. Cf. mo. *luus* 'Dragon, the Dragon King, the God of Water (= skr. *nāgaḥ*)', plural of *lu(u)* 'dragon' << ch. *lung* 龍 id. See HCG, 50; BTD, 237, no. 3217. I would, therefore, illustrate the semantic development of mo. *mangγus* as follows: ch. *mang* 'a (very) large snake (that is

sometimes associated with a dragon) > mmo. *mangqus* (= pmo. *mangγus*) 'a man-eating dragon-snake' > mo. *mangγus* 'a man-eating ogre or demon, a *rākṣasa*' > modern Mongolian languages and dialects 'a man-eating monster, an ogre.' For further investigation of this subject, cf. TDB, 86 (F17v, 11-12); Lörincz 1970; Serruys 1982; idem 1982b; MQ, 41, n. 96; as well as P. Dambipeljid in *ÖMYS*, 1988.3, 78-91; and Buyankhesig, ibid., 1989.4, 62-68. A comprehensive study, which must be both historical and comparative, on the *mangγus* in Mongolian literature and folklore is still lacking, although much of the material (chronicles, written and oral epics and stories, etc.) is now available in translation thanks to the efforts of A. Mostaert, N. Poppe, W. Heissig and many others.

'Otčigin, the Easy-going (*Otčigin heligetü*)' – a reference to Temüge Otčigin's pleasant disposition which, as noted by Pelliot, made him get along well with his elder brother Činggis Qan. See HCG, 178; cf. HWC, 201ff.; *Successors*, 76. The term *heligetü*, lit. 'having liver', is not obvious, but it has some of the connotations of our 'phlegmatic' (cf. Ha, 83). Other translators have variously rendered this term as 'courageous', 'lazy', 'spoilt child', 'sluggard', 'friendly', 'kind-hearted' and 'unconcerned.' The Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 7, 41b) says: 'His name is Otčigin, he is lazy (*or* indolent) by nature.' I think that ch. *lan* 懶 'lazy, indolent', must be understood here as meaning someone who takes life in a leisurely and carefree way. Cf. kh. *ėlėgtėi* 'good-natured', and mo. *eligeseg* 'amiable', both also deriving from *(h)elige(n)* 'liver.' Cf. Oz^1, IV, 347-348, n. 24. In this section, Temüge Otčigin is called Otčigin and Otčigin Noyan, as is the case in other sections of the SH as well as in other texts. Cf. HCG, 175-178.

'He does not lag behind … in position', lit. 'Even (*ele*) he does not lag behind the *great* display (*baru'an*);/Even he does not lag behind the position (*bayidal*).' We have already encountered the term *baru'a(n)* (= mo. *baraγa*[*n*]) in the sense of 'darkness' (§ 91), and 'multitude' (§ 184), with the connotation of 'a large display of people.' Cf. ord. *barā öG-* 'se

laisser voir de loin en grand nombre pour faire peur à l'ennemi' (DO, 50b). In view of the second line of the couplet and the usage of *baru'a(n)* in a military context, I think that the word does not refer simply to a 'multitude' (as Cl, 128, and Oz[1], IV, 325 have it; but see Oz[2], II, 29), but to the full army array. This is confirmed by the sectional summary, which reads: 'Yet, he did not fall behind from among the multitude of the mounted troops' (Y[2] 7, 41b). I have tried to express the force of the particle *ele* by using a preposed 'yet' rather than repeating 'even' in two already long lines. Cf. Street 1981, 154, § 14. The word *baru'a(n)* occurs again in § 255 in the form *bara'a* (< *baru'a*). For *horgil* (= mo. *orgil*) 'top, summit (of a mountain)', cf. Mo, 147, n. 144; Pelliot 1925, 219-220, no. 34.

For some interesting remarks on the weaponry mentioned in this section, see Reid 1992.

§ **196**. 'J̌amuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own', lit. 'J̌amuqa, separating from the Naiman, went out being alone (*böldeyitčü*).' Cf. § 170, where a similar situation occurred with J̌amuqa and Ong Qan. For the verb *böldeyit-* 'to be alone (= on one's own)', see also above, n. 156.

'And he said', lit. 'he sent saying.'

For a translation and discussion of J̌amuqa's verbal message to Činggis in alliterative form, see Mo, 121-124; Gaadamba 1968, 98; and below, n. 200 ad fin. 'And have lost the will to resist', lit. 'They do not have the mien (*or* countenance, i.e. the daring) to oppose *you*.' By 'mien, countenance, appearance' (*čirai*) is meant here, as in other passages (cf. §§ 208, 246, 277) the self-confidence and will to fight as shown through one's countenance. For *bürün* (conv. praep. of *bü-* 'to be') = 'as for', cf. Cleaves 1951, 75, n. 23; VG, 92.

'Late in the day', lit. 'the sun becoming late (= evening).' Cf. Poppe 1964, 377; and above, n. 177.

'Tried to escape', lit. 'were about (*or* intended) to escape.'

'They piled on top of each other' (*de'ere de'ere-'en qutaqlalduǰu*). The word *qutaqlalduǰu*, which is not glossed in the

text, is the converbum imperfecti of *qutaqlaldu-*, the reciprocal form of *qutaqla-*, a *hapax legomenon*. I think that Kozin is right in equating it to mo. *qutayala-* 'to pile up, heap up' (Ko, 555). Cf. Cl, 129, n. 65; Oz[1], IV, 356, n. 5. The sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 47b) says: 'Those who died pressing (i.e. crushing) each other were many.' Also, *qutaqla-* cannot correspond to mo. *qudqula-* 'to mix, mingle', as suggested by some scholars (see Mu, II, 296, n. 25), because this verb occurs in the SH as *qutqula-*. See HW, 73.

'They fell breaking their bones', lit. 'their bones falling asunder (*kemkerü*, i.e. to pieces).' Cf. Bese 1969, 124-125. For *yasu hüsü*, a '*mot-couple*' ('bone – hair') = 'bone(s)', see Mo, 43; DO, 398b, 765b.

'Rotten logs' renders the word *hünǰi'ü* which means 'dead tree, rotten wood.' See above, n. 27, where I have discussed this puzzling word. The expression *hünǰi'ü bayitala*, which occurs again in §§ 247, 251 and 272, means literally 'until they stood (= piled up; cf. the gloss 積 in § 251) *like* rotten logs.'

'*Činggis Qa'an* finished off Tayang Qan' (*Tayang Qan-i muqutqaǰu abubai*). For *muqutqaǰu abubai*, cf. the *moqutqaǰu abu'ai* of § 177 and com. However, this does not necessarily mean that Tayang Qan was killed outright, even though that is what is stated in so many words in the SWCCL[1], 55b. The corresponding passage in SL[2], I/2, 148, gives a much fuller account of Tayang Qan's end, indicating that he was mortally wounded when he was captured, and he may well have died of his wound(s) as, indeed, another source expressly states (see Wei, 136, n. 23). The sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 44b) merely says that Tayang Qan was captured, without any mention of his death. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 87-88; CW, 41. On the other hand, the YS[2] 1, 12-13, which gives a full account of the battle, says: 'This day, the Emperor (= Činggis Qan) fought a great battle with the Naiman army. By sundown, he had captured and killed Tayang Qan.' At the beginning of § 154 the verb *muqutqa-* (which I rendered in English as 'to destroy') is used with reference to the defeated Tatars; however, it is clear from what

follows that most of the Tatar tribesmen were still alive, albeit not for long. Whatever the sequence of events, Tayang Qan lost the battle at Naqu Cliff and perished.

'Moved *from there* with a few men', lit. 'moved *being only* a few persons.' Cf. above, n. 177, and below, n. 197.

'A circular camp' (*güre'en*), i.e. a fortified camp, given the circumstances. See above, n. 90.

On the Tamir River see above, n. 194.

'*Činggis Qa'an* utterly defeated and conquered (lit. "gathered") the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai (*Altai-yin ölke-de*).' The sectional summary (Y^2 7, 44b) says: 'He (Činggis) attacked as far as the southern side of the Altai Mountains. The situation became more and more desperate, and all his people were captured.' From the context, the object of Činggis' attack seems to be Güčülük, and 'his people' the latter's people. This is, in fact, how the passage has been understood by Palladiĭ (Pa, 108), Waley (Wa, 279-280) and Wei Kwei Sun (Wei, 137). However, we know that Güčülük was virtually alone when he fled, and the summary is at variance with the Mongol text, which refers to 'the people of the Naiman tribe.' It would thus appear that Činggis Qan pursued the Naiman remnants to their territory south of the Altai; then, in the autumn (1204), he fought with Toqto'a Beki at the Qaradal Source (§ 197). After defeating Toqto'a, he pursued him, Qudu and Čila'un and, again, crossed the Altai (§ 198). I doubt that Činggis crossed the Altai twice and wonder whether the text in § 196 is corrupt (the differing version in the sectional summary seems to indicate this); and, if so, whether the author of this section means that the Naiman *who inhabited the southern Altai region* were defeated and conquered by Činggis Qan together with their subjects and allies. This is to distinguish them from the Naiman who inhabited the region *north* of the Altai, the Naiman tribe being distributed over both sides of the great mountain range. As Pelliot has pointed out, the Naiman south of the Altai reached as far as the Urungu; those north of the Altai (north-west of Kobdo) reached as far as

the western limit of the basin of the Kobdo River and into the basin of the Irtysh (the Erdiš of the SH; cf. § 198) along its affluent, the Bukhtarma River (the Buqdurma of the SH; cf. ibid.). See HCG, 304-308. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that, as stated earlier (n. 194), the word 'Altai' in the present context may not refer to the well-known mountain range, but to any snow-covered range. Another problem concerns the tribes allied to J̌amuqa that submitted on this occasion, i.e. after Tayang Qan's defeat and Güčülük's flight. They are listed as the J̌adaran, Qatagin, Salǰi'ut, Dörben, Tayiči'ut and Onggirat. The J̌adaran (= J̌aǰirat) is, of course, J̌amuqa's own tribe; the Qatagin or Qadagin had joined forces earlier with the Salǰi'ut, and had at the same time (1201) joined J̌amuqa's coalition together with the Dörben and the Onggirat. See above, § 141; cf. HCG, 393. However, the Onggirat had subsequently submitted peacefully to J̌ürčedei and had been spared by Činggis Qan (§§ 176-177). As for the Tayiči'ut, they had been destroyed as a tribe at Köyiten and in mopping up operations immediately after (§§ 143ff., 148ff.). As pointed out again by Pelliot (HCG, 378), the chronology of these campaigns (1201 and after) 'est flottante.' This applies, in particular, to the Tayiči'ut. Neither the SWCCL and SL, nor the YS accounts of the events described in § 196 of the SH mention the Tayiči'ut and the Onggirat, only the four Dörben, Tatar, Qatagin and Salǰi'ut (which, with the Onggirat, had been the main supporters of J̌amuqa). See SWCCL[1], 56a; SL[2], I/2, 148; YS[2] 1, 13. The presence of the Tayiči'ut in the SH account can be explained by the fact that part of this tribe under its chief Quril Ba'atur – Tarqutai Kiriltuq's brother – had escaped to the Naiman and had obviously joined J̌amuqa. See HCG, 390. Apparently also some Onggirat and Tatar clans were still on J̌amuqa's side at the time. The number of their tribesmen probably being small, the former are ignored by some sources, and the others by the SH. On the Tayiči'ut, cf. also Grupper 1992/94, 22, n. 28. For the verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble' = 'to conquer, annex', cf. Cleaves 1952, 103, n. 141. See also Kow., 958b; Les., 989b. In

our passage, the latter meaning is confirmed by the sectional summary, hence in the present instance the rendering 'assembled' in Cl, 129, is not quite correct.

For the use of *ki'et* (= mo. *kiged*) 'and others', cf. above, nn. 130, 150.

'Took her *as wife*.' The text simply says that Činggis 'took her' (*abula'a*); however, although she is not listed among his wives in the table of YS[2] 106, 2693-2697, we know from Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 72) that she was one of his principal secondary wives and that he married her in accordance with the Mongol custom. According to the Persian historian, Gürbesü had been the wife, not the mother, of Tayang Qan. See above, n. 189.

This section concludes the account of Činggis Qan's campaign against Tayang Qan and the important Naiman tribe which had begun on 17 May 1204 (see § 193). According to the SH (§ 197), the campaign was concluded by the autumn of the same year (29 July-24 October 1204). As noted by Ligeti (Li, 167, n. 196), with the defeat of this tribe Činggis had removed the last great nomadic people from his path of conquest. The Naiman was first mentioned in the SH in § 141, s.a. 1201, i.e. quite late in the story, but, as stated earlier, the SH chronology for the events relating to the coalition of the tribes opposed to Činggis Qan and his allies is not reliable. There is no doubt, however, that the Naiman clans, although hostile to Ong Qan, did not play any direct role in Činggis' career before his confrontation with J̌amuqa and the polarization of the tribes resulting from it. For bibliographical references to the Naiman and the problems associated with their origins and culture, see above, n. 141.

§ 197. The identification of the Qaradal Source (Qaradal Huǰa'ur) poses serious problems. In the SWCCL[1], 56a, this locality is called 'the Tieh-erh-e 迭兒惡 River source Pu-la-na-ai-hu 不剌納矮胡.' In SL[2], I/2, 149, it is called 'the sources of the river called Tar (*or* Ter) Müren.' The *e* 惡 of Tieh-erh-e is undoubtedly a dittography (double *erh* 兒) since the character 惡 is never used

in these transcriptions. We are left, therefore, with Tieh-erh = *Der or *Ter (the alternation *d* ~ *t* is quite common; cf., e.g., Döregene ~ Töregene, Dersüt ~ Tersüt). Since the passages in the SWCCL and SL are parallel ones, the SWCCL reading *Der/*Ter = SL Tar/Ter, i.e. the Der/Dar or Ter/Tar River. Dar or Tar may perhaps correspond to the second element of Qaradal, i.e. Dal, in which case the name Qaradal should be read Qara Dal or 'Black Dal' (it is quite common for a river in Mongolia to have the epithet Qara 'Black'); alternatively, we may have two rivers called respectively Qara and Dal, but the reference in SL seems to preclude that. Pėrlėė[2], 7 (= Pėrlėė[4], 91), claims that the river in question is the Xar Tal (= Kara Tal), an affluent of the Selenga, at 49° N 101° E. He quotes as his authority Radlov, *Sibirskie drevnosti*, vol. I, ch. 3, p. 80. This can only be AS. I cannot find the reference to the Kara Tal on page 80 of vol. I, but the river is mentioned in vol. I, pp. 9 and 116 as Karatal. However, this is the well-known Kara-Tal in east Kazakhstan which has its sources in the Dzungarian Ala-tau Mountains and empties into Lake Balkhash – too far to the south-west for our account. I cannot find any other river of the same name along the Selenga and I think that Pėrlėė's statement is incorrect. In On, 102, n. 250, we read: 'Although the use of the word "source" (*huja'ur*) in this name would usually imply a river source, in fact Qaradal is *qara dal* (or *tal*) which means "Black Steppe", a steppe that is located to the south-west of the city of Khovd (Qobd) in the MPR. See B.I: 171.' Cf. the 2001 ed., 177, n. 446, to the same effect. The reference for this identification is TH, 171 (= ǰYT, 298-299) and, ultimately the MKYMC. See MGYMC, 154. This area – a plain, not a river – is, according to the latter source, on the Köke Usu, in the westernmost region of Mongolia. Since, immediately after the confrontation with Činggis' army at Qaradal Huǰa'ur, Toqto'a Beki was chased by the Mongols to the Sa'ari Steppe, where he was totally defeated, it seems that a localization as that proposed in TH is also too far to the west. Moreover, our text, as well as the SWCCL and SL, describe the place as a spring or water-

course, not a plain. Unfortunately, the Pu-la-na-ai-hu of the SWCCL is, likewise, an unknown locality. I believe that a possible solution to the problem that would satisfy both the linguistic and geographical aspects of the identification is the following. If we read Tes instead of Ter (i.e. 迭思 *pro* 迭兒) we have the name of a well-known river in northwestern Mongolia, the Tes or Teshin Gol that originates in the Bolnai Mountains at 49° 05 N 98° 30 E. 'Ter' and 'Tes' can easily be confused in the Arabic-Persian script. The puzzling Pu-la-na-ai-hu of the SWCCL is, probably, a corruption of the name of these mountains (<*Bulnāi Qu[n], i.e. the 'Bulnāi Cliff *or* Mountain': for *hu* 胡 = *qu*[*n*], cf. HCG, 380; for *qun* = 'mountain', see ibid., and above, n. 177, the reference to J̌orqal Qun in SL). The area itself is near the Selenga and much closer to the Sa'ari Steppe than the region of Kobdo. This identification is, I think, more satisfactory than the ones proposed so far; I would, therefore, regard Qaradal as the locality on the northern side of the Bolnai Mountains where the Tes takes its source. The text says that on that occasion Činggis Qan dislodged Toqto'a from his position and eventually crushed him in the Sa'ari Steppe further west. This must have happened soon after the first encounter. From § 162 we know that in 1202 Toqto'a and his sons had retreated to the relative safety of their own territory in the lower Selenga, which they must have followed upstream in the summer-autumn of 1204 in order to reach Qaradal Huǰa'ur. Toqto'a was still with his sons at the time. They were Qutu (written here Qudu, but to be read as Qutu or Qodu; see above, n. 141) and Čila'un and, probably, also another son whose name is uncertain (Qal ?) and who is mentioned in § 198.

For the passage 'Toqto'a with his sons ... got away by flight', cf. Mo, 177, n. 158, where *čö'en gü'ün beyes-iyen* is rendered '[et] un petit nombre de gens.' The literal meaning is '*being only* a few persons.' Cf. the passages in §§ 109, 136, 183, 188 and 198 also translated by Mostaert (Mo, 176-177).

Dayir Usun of the 'Qo'as' Merkit is first mentioned in the SH, § 102, where the name of his tribe is correctly given as U'as

Merkit. This is the regular spelling throughout (see §§ 105, 109, 111, 117). Ligeti says that the form 'Qo'as' for Uwas (*read* U'as) cannot exclusively be traced back to the peculiarity of the Uighur script (Li, 167, n. 197). Cf. HCG, 137-138, 275. However, in my opinion the aberrant form Qo'as (the 'Ho'as' of HCG, Cl, 130, and Oz[1], IV, 360, 366, n. 1, is a purely mechanical transcription of the Chinese transcription 豁阿思 *Ho'as *pro* 中谷阿思 *Qo'as) is to be explained simply by the fact that in the early Uighur-Mongol script, the word U'as, written Uγas, is virtually identical with Qo'as, written Qoγas, as can also be observed in the AT[1], 24b, where the first word of line 19, Uγas, can be read Qoγas. There are other cases where this confusion has occurred in proper names. See HCG, 138.

'To offer her', lit. 'to show (*or* present) her', but in this case *üǰe'ül-* is actually rendered as 'to offer' (*hsien-yü* 獻與, *hsien* 獻) in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary (Y[2] 7, 45b, 49a).

For the episode of Dayir Usun's offer of his daughter Qulan, see also HCG, 275. For the name Qulan, see above, n. 48. She is called *qatun* (written *qatun* and *qadun* in this section) in view of her future rank as one of the principal wives of Činggis Qan. She is, in fact, listed as the first wife of the first rank of those belonging to the second *ordo* or 'Palace' in YS[2] 106, 2694. The later Mongol tradition made Qulan Qatun a Korean princess. See HCG, 275-276. She bore Činggis Qan a son, Kölgen, who died in Russia. There are many references to both Qulan and her son in the Persian and Chinese sources, including Yüan literary, legal and administrative texts (see, e.g., RPN, I, 867; TCTK 2, 28a), which deserve study.

Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin (Ba'aridai) has his name variously transcribed in this section as Naya'a and Nayā (< Naya'a), the written form being Nayaγa. The younger (?) son of Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt Ba'arin, he was mentioned in § 149 in connection with the seizure of Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut. There his name appears only in the form Naya'a. For the sake of uniformity, I have transcribed his name as Naya'a

throughout this section. Činggis Qan was angry with him because he thought that Naya'a had sexually used Qulan during the three days he delayed her progress – a most serious crime according to Mongol customary law, for Qulan as daughter of a chief and on her way to be given to Činggis, was already the *qan*'s property and should have been conveyed to him immediately. It was, therefore, a case of *lèse majesté*. Cf. Vernadsky 1938, 350-351; Ratchnevsky 1987, 68; and below, nn. 208, 220, 252, concerning the expressions *yeke töre* (~ *törö*) and *yeke yosu*.

'Detained ... held': the verb is the same in Mongolian (*töritge-* = mo. *türidke-* 'to cause to hold, obstruct'). I have used two different words in English to avoid repeating the same verb three times.

'Rigorously and minutely questioned', lit. 'questioning observing carefully (*or* looking inquisitively) in a harsh manner' (*qatangqui-a mara'an asaqču*). The use of harsh methods of interrogation, i.e. torture, is implied in the expression *qatangqui-a* (as in fr. [*peine*] *dure et forte*). As for *mara'an*, the Chinese interlinear version glosses this word as *tzu-hsi* 仔細 'in detail, carefully.' *Mara'an* is the converbum modale of *mara'a-* ~ *mariya-* 'to watch or observe carefully, pry; to spy' (HW, 108). Cf. mo. *mariya-*, *miriya-* 'to steal up, stalk.' See Oz[1], IV, 367-368, n. 6. For other interpretations, see Ra, VII, 80.

'Made *this case a matter of* law.' *J̌asaq bolqa-* is, literally, 'to make into a *ǰasaq*', i.e. into a normative law or, in Cleaves' words 'a precedent which shall serve as law for the future' (Cl, 130, n. 69). See de Rachewiltz 1993, 97-98.

'No doubt we would have been intercepted and would have got into difficulties', lit. 'would we have not ...?' – a rhetorical question.

'Perhaps ...' (*qai ...*). For *qai*, a word expressing doubt ('perhaps, who knows?'), cf. Vietze 1990, 384.

'To inspect my body', lit. 'to question the flesh (*mariyan*)', i.e. to test her virginity. For *mariya(n)* ~ *mara'a* 'flesh, body', cf. Cleaves 1982, 84, n. 46.

'Had this message conveyed', lit. 'she caused one to report (to the ruler: *öči'üljü'üi*).' For *öči'ül-* (= mo. *öčigül-*), factitive of *öči-* 'to report to, inform (the ruler)', cf. Cleaves 1953, 65, n. 14.

'I have no other face than that *known to* (Cl, 130: "than [that devoted unto]) the Qa'an', i.e. 'I am not double-faced (= insincere) in my behaviour towards the Qa'an.'

'If I come across maidens and ladies/Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,/And geldings with fine croups…' – a reference to the oath of loyalty in § 123. For this passage, cf. Street 1982, 624.

'If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!' For this expression, cf. Street 1990, 189.

'Showed favour to Qulan Qatun.' See above for the eminent position among his wives conferred on Qulan by Činggis Qan.

'As Naya'a's words had been confirmed', lit. 'having turned out to be *just* like Naya'a's words.'

'I shall entrust him with an important task!', lit. 'I shall entrust him with a great matter!' The appointment of Naya'a to the very important position of commander of the ten thousand of the centre in 1206 is recorded in § 220, where Činggis' statement made on this occasion is also recalled. See below, n. 220. Cf. also § 149 ad fin.

§ **198**. Döregene (~ Töregene; cf. above, n. 197), the wife of Qudu (i.e. Qutu or Qodu; cf. above, n. 141) that Činggis Qan gave to Ögödei, is a well-known figure. It seems that she was originally a Naiman of possibly Nestorian Christian background. She gained great political power in the latter part of Ögödei's reign and became regent of the empire after his death (1241-46). She was the mother of Güyük (1206-48), for whose election as *qa'an* she was largely responsible. At the election, which took place on 24 August 1246 near Qara Qorum, the Franciscan envoy John of Pian di Carpine was present, and mentions her in the narrative of his journey. See MM, 61, 65 (cf. also the

account of Benedict the Pole, ibid., 82); SDM, 390, 393. She died probably soon after the election. There are many references to her in the works of the Persian historians and in the Chinese sources. On her see MPa, 193-195; HCG, 90. She is known in the West as Turakina, and in China as Nai-ma-chen 乃馬真 (= Naimaǰin, 'The Naiman') and *Liu huang-hou* 六皇后 or 'The Sixth Empress.' The latter designation has not been satisfactorily explained, since both the Persian and Chinese sources list her as the second, not sixth, wife of Ögödei, belonging to the emperor's principal *ordo* (his first wife was Boraqčin). See *Successors*, 18; YS[2] 106, 2693-4. I have discussed this problem at length in de Rachewiltz 1981 and de Rachewiltz 1999a, where new source material is presented to support my earlier tentative explanation of this puzzling question. For the name Döregene/Töregene, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the form *qadunt* instead of *qatut* 'ladies (of rank), wives (of a chief or nobleman)', see above, n. 118; Mo, 109; *Matériel II*, 47 (17v, 5).

As pointed out in Li, 167, n. 198, Ögödei is called Qa'an in anticipation of his future status, just as in the preceding section (§ 197) Dayir Usun's daughter is called Qulan Qatun. Ögödei's title must have been added to the original text of the SH (which undoubtedly had Ögödei *tout court*) much later, presumably at the same time when Činggis' title of *qan* was changed to *qaγan*. See Section Four of the Introduction.

The Taiqal stronghold (Taiqal *qorqa*) presents some problems. The word *taiqal* is glossed in the interlinear version as 'mountain top' (*shan-ting* 山頂) and *qorqa* as 'stockade, stronghold, fortress' (*chai-tzu* 寨子); however, the sectional summary (Y[2] 8, 5a) calls this place 'the Taiqal mountain stronghold', with *taiqal* transcribed as a proper name. Cf. Cl, 132, n. 1. That Taiqal was a place-name is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 149: Daīqāl *qōrγān*), the SWCCL[1] (56b: the Taiqan [= Taiqal] stronghold), and the YS[2] (1, 13: id.). The interlinear

gloss 'mountain top' seems to be a misinterpretation of the translator, due perhaps to his assuming the stronghold to be on a mountain. The location of Taiqal is not known. Pėrlėė[2], 9 (= Pėrlėė[4], 95), is of the opinion that it corresponds to Qara Qorum, but his argument is based on later literary evidence showing that Qara Qorum was also known as Taqai Balγasun. I find Pėrlėė's argument not very convincing, but cannot suggest other identifications at present.

Čimbai, the son of Sorqan Šira, and his brother Čila'un were mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 in connection with Činggis Qan's early escape from the Tayiči'ut. Čimbai was appointed with Boroqul as commander of the right (= west) wing, not of the left wing as stated in our text. See the YS[2] 1, 13, and the sectional summary (Y[2] 8, 5a), where the correct form is given. See also Rašīd al-Dīn, loc. cit. We know that the transcription and translation of the text of the SH during the Ming were made on a manuscript different from the one used earlier by the authors of the sectional summary, and not as good. See Section Four of the Introduction. 'Wing' is, literally, 'hand' (*qar*). See TMEN, nos. 84, 165, 1477.

'Unwilling to submit ... bare lives.' For this passage, see Mo, 177-178, n. 158; and above, n. 188. Cf. Oz[1], V, 9-12, n. 4.

For the name 'Altai' see above, n. 194. By 'south of the Altai' is probably meant the side facing the Khangai Mts., which strictly speaking is the 'northern' side of the Altai. My impression is that Činggis Qan spent the winter of 1204-1205 there, and in the spring crossed the Altai at the Alai Pass and entered the valley of the Irtysh. As for Alai, this place-name is incorrectly transcribed in the SH as 'Arai.' Cf. Pelliot 1935a, 159. It recurs again in § 257 as the name of a pass; the form found in the corresponding passage of the AT is 'Alai', see AT[1], 115a. Cf. ATL, 189; LDAT, 225; Li, 167-168, n. 198. Pelliot's correction is undoubtedly based on the reading in AT[3], 162a. Cf. Pe, 73, n. 4 ('Alay?'). It has been identified by Pėrlėė[2], 4 (= Pėrlėė[4], 86), with the Ulaan Dabaa (Pass) of the Altai at 47° N 91° E (more precisely at 47° 24 N 91° 12 E). The locality

mentioned in the SH is perhaps related to the 'mountains of the Alui' mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn, which were also in this broad region, but which Pelliot has been unable to identify. See HCG, 299-302. The 'Alai mountains' of GOT, 285 (E3), is a typographical error for 'Altai mountains.'

Güčülük joined forces with Toqto'a of the Merkit at the 'Buqdurma source of the Erdis' – presumably in the area where the Bukhtarma River, which rises in the Altai, flows into the Irtysh at Ust' Bukhtarma (formerly Bukhtarminsk), south-west of Zyryanovsk in east Kazakhstan. The Erdis or Erdiš is, of course, the Irtysh, and this is the first occurrence of this name in the SH. On it see TMEN, no. 447.

'Toqto'a was struck there and then by a "random" arrow (*šiba-yin sumun*) and fell.' Most translators, including Haenisch, Ligeti, Murakami, Damdinsürėn, Waley, Cleaves, Doronatib, Ozawa and Onon, render *šiba-yin sumun* as 'a stray arrow' following the Chinese gloss (乱箭的箭) and the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 5b: 乱箭, but see below). Cėrėnsodnom (Če, 173, 427, n. 429; cf. also Tserensodnom 1993, 199) takes *šiba* = *sibege* 'feather-grass' (*Stipa pennata* or *grandis*, kh. *šivėė*[*n*]; see Cėv., 843 [II]; MMED, 809a; cf. MED, 540a, following MOUNT, 26); the expression in question would thus designate arrows similar to the spikelets of feather-grass, i.e. densely clustered. In fact, another name for feather-grass in Mongolian is *qarbuγči ebesü*, i.e. 'arrow-shooting grass.' Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 163), following Gaadamba (Га, 369-370, n. 585), translate *šiba-yin sumun* as 'une flèche bien visée' – a rendering which is exactly the opposite of the Chinese gloss and the sectional summary. Just as Cėrėnsodnom associates *šiba* with *sibege* 'feather-grass', so does Doerfer associate *šiba* with *sibege* (SH, § 79: *šibe'e*) 'palisade, abatis, protective wall, rampart.' See TMEN, no. 227 ad fin. Doerfer discusses mmo. **sibā* (< *šibe'e*) as a loan-word in Persian and various Turkic languages, but unfortunately includes examples of Turkic words which derive not from Mongolian *šibe'e*, but from *šiba*, e.g. čag.

šiba (TMEN: *šibä*, but VWTD, IV, 1088: *šiba*) 'a flight of arrows', thus confusing the issue. Cf. VEWT, 445a and 446a; but in 445a, 'srt. *šiba* "eine eigene Art Pfeil"...< mo. *sibaγa* "Würfel, Los"', is also debatable as far as the etymology is concerned. However, the Chaghatai acceptation of the word is relevant when used in conjunction with Mongol lexical evidence. Written Mongolian has the expression *siba ni* (? for *-yin*) *ǰebe* meaning 'arrows which are shot randomly along and across the enemy', i.e. arrows shot at the enemy from all sides (QNTT, 552b; WTCWC, I, 908.4; Kow., 1476b; and Gol., II, 385b, but in Kow. and Gol. incorrectly entered under *sibe*; cf. also Šaγǰa[1], 831b). We are dealing here with a particular type of attack, or military tactic, rather than with a special type of arrow, or simply a stray one. We know that it was a Mongol tactic to shower the enemy with arrows when first approaching, each horseman 'shooting three or four arrows at their adversaries' (MM, 36). These arrows were not aimed at individual soldiers, but at the mounted troops as a whole – men and horses – to create confusion. In other words, they were 'random' arrows discharged at the enemy from all sides. Indeed, the Chinese gloss *luan-chien* 乱箭 designating them in the SH, and of which 'stray arrow' is only an approximate translation, is a technical term registered in the WTCWC, loc. cit., corresponding to mo. *siba ni ǰebe* and ma. *soriha sirdan* 'arrows shot wildly', i.e. randomly. Hence my present rendering of this term. Middle Mongolian *šiba* has survived in Modern Mongolian in the denominal verb *sibada-*, kh. *šavdax*, 'to pierce; to incite, urge' (Les., 693); cf. kh. *šav* 'shooting target', bur. *šaba* 'shot.' More could be said on this interesting and much-travelled word, but it would take us too far afield.

'His sons could not bury him', lit. 'his sons being unable to take in their hands (= bury) his bones (= body).' On the expression *yasu bari-* 'to bury', see above, n. 175. The practice of severing the head of a dead person (*pars pro toto*) has already been encountered in § 189. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 81-82.

Most of them fell into *the river* and drowned', lit. 'sinking *into it* caused the majority to perish in the water.' The verb *čübtüs-* corresponds to mo. *čöbte-* 'to fall to the bottom, sink.' See Les., 200a.

Regarding the country of the Ui'ur and Qarluq Turks in Central Asia, see above n. 151. Here, as in § 235, the name Qarluq occurs in the plural Qarlu'ut (w.f. Qarluγud); cf. Poppe 1975, 166. The preceding word, Ui'urtai, is the ethnicon of Ui'ur, but since it can hardly modify Qarlu'ut (the Uighurs and the Qarluqs being clearly distinguished in the SH as well as in other sources), it must be taken as the equivalent of Ui'ur or Ui'ut, i.e. the Uighurs, an interpretation which is supported by the interlinear gloss which renders Ui'urtai and Qarlu'ut with *chung-ming* 種名 'name of people' in each case. Cf., e.g., the names Sartaq and Sartaqtai 'the Sartaq', as well as Ui'urtai (§ 279) 'the Uighur' *tout court* used by various personages. Cf. NHHO, 269b. However, Ko, 151 (followed by Da[1], 183; cf. Da[5], 156), Buell 1992, 8, and Oz[2], II, 52, translate 'the Qarluq of the Ui'ur (Uigur).' For a possible, but unlikely, explanation, see Buell 1992, 8, n. 20. On the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat (= Qara Kitat), the Čui River, i.e. the Chu, and 'the country of the Sarta'ul' (*Sarda'ul-un qaǰar*), see above, nn. 151, 152 and 177. In the present section (as in § 177) Sarta'ul is written Sarda'ul.

The name of Toqto'a's second son is incorrectly written here as Qat, whereas it should be Qal as given (twice) in § 199, a reading confirmed also by the sectional summary (Y[2] 8, 5b). Cf. HCG, 285; Buell 1992, 8, n. 21.

In the SH, Qanglï, the name of the Turkic-speaking people who inhabited the area of Turgai north of the Aral Sea, is always written as Qanglin. For a discussion of this name see HCG, 112ff. The Kimča'ut (pl. of Kimčaq) ~ Kibča'ut (§ 262) are the Qïpčaq, the other Turkic-speaking people, frequently associated with the Qanglï, who were scattered over the vast steppeland north of the Caspian and the Black Sea, and who were known in Europe as Comans or Polovtsy. See ibid., 97, 102ff.; Pelliot 1920, 133-150, 161; Poppe 1975, 166; YShi, 80-83; and NNRS,

passim. On the Qanglï and Qïpčaq see also MR, I, 301-304; II, 68-73; NMP, I, 402; HTAC, 88-91; Li, 168, n. 198; CCo, 189, nn. 51, 53; Kumekov 1987; TḲKCA, 17ff.; and especially the important contributions by O. Pritsak. Cf. SMEH, Index, 11a; and Allsen 1983a, 6. See further CHEIA, 506 (Index, s.v. 'Kipchaks'), and CHCAR, 836b (Index). They are frequently mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources, but have not yet been made the object of a comprehensive investigation. For *m* ~ *b*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 270.

The passage 'Toqto'a was struck … Kimča'ut' is translated somewhat differently in Buell 1992, 7-8.

'Settled in his base camp' renders *a'uru'ut-tur ba'uba*. For the term *a'uruq* (pl. *a'uru'ut*), see above, n. 136. Cf. the expression *ordos-tur ba'u-*, lit. 'to settle down at the Palaces', i.e. at the *qan*'s encampment (§ 264). See Mo, 261 and n. 249. The use of the plural form for the base camp may be compared to the use of the term *ordos* (pl. of *ordo*) in that expression, the *qan*'s encampment consisting of his residence and those of his wives, retainers, etc., altogether a large number of tents. However, it is possible that the plural in such instances may be also one of respect, a sort of honorific plural, on which cf. *Lettres*, 65, 79.

For *kötöčin* 'servants, attendants', see Oz[1], V, 19-20, n. 1; Miller 2000, 212-216. Cf. above, n. 66.

'He had the Merkit distributed here and there down to the last one', lit. 'he apportioned the Merkit in all directions until they were utterly finished.' Cf. Cl, 133: 'He made one to part the Merkid, [distributing them] unto every quarter, to the point that he extinguished [them as an entire tribe].'

Whereas the SH records the battle on the Irtysh and Toqto'a's death in the spring of the Year of the Ox, i.e. in 1205, the same event is placed s.a. 1208 in the Chinese and Persian sources. Cf. YS[2] 1, 14; SL[2], I/2, 151-152; SWCCL[1], 58b. See also EM, 172-173, 196-197; ČK[1], 79, 92 (= ČK[2], 86, 102). A comparison of the sources within the framework of Činggis' movements in the years 1207/1208 and 1217/1218 shows that

the chronology of the YS and Rašīd al-Dīn is, as usual, more reliable than that of the SH. See Appendix One, and below, n. 199. However, Grousset and Hambis follow the chronology of the SH in their respective works. See CW, 160; GK, 89.

§ **199**. 'In that same Year of the Ox' must refer to 1205; see the fourth paragraph of § 198. However, we have here a mistake of a full twelve-year cycle, as Sübe'etei's expedition against Toqto'a's sons took place in 1217, also a Year of the Ox. This event must have been either erroneously or purposely transposed in the text. Cf. Pelliot 1920, 163-164; EM, 197-198, 579; and below, n. 236. Sübe'etei is the famous lieutenant of Činggis Qan and one of the 'four hounds', already mentioned in §§ 120, 124, 195. His name appears in the SH in the forms Sübe'etei (= pmo. Sübegetei) and Sübētei (< Sübe'etei). In other sources we find Sübūtei ~ Söbūtei (< Sübētei ~ Söbētei < Sübe'etei ~ Söbe'etei). Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 398, n. 239. For this great military leader, who was born in the Uriangqai (Uriyangqai) tribe in 1176 and died in Mongolia in 1248, see the biographical essay by Paul D. Buell in ISK, 13-26 (with a comprehensive bibliography on page 26), 797a (Index); and Buell 1992. Buell's views on the sequence of events differ from mine. Sübe'etei is usually referred to as Sübe'etei Ba'atur (cf. above, n. 120). In view of the capital role he played in the creation of the Mongol empire, a full-length study of his life and activities would be highly desirable. With regard to the campaign in question, the 'iron cart' (*temür telege*) with which he was equipped for his long and arduous journey (Qodu and the Merkit remnants had fled to the west and sought shelter in Qïpčaq territory under the protection of a local chief) must have been a cart reinforced with an iron frame and with iron wheels. The SWCCL[1], 72a, specifically states that it had iron-covered wheels. On these carts see Read 1992, 90; Nam 1994, 200; cf. also TH, 259 (= ǰYT, 448); Oz[1], V, 28-29, n. 2. For its possible use in connection with Sübe'etei in particular, i.e. as a suitable vehicle for a very corpulent man, cf. Ha, 158, n. 199; Li, 168, n.

199. In our text, *temür telegetü* is in apposition to Sübe'etei: 'Sübe'etei – he with an iron cart.' As pointed out by N. Poppe (p. c.), this is an interesting and unusual construction. The name of Toqto'a's second son is Qal (Qat in § 198) which, as stated earlier, is the correct form.

'Left in fright and haste, *then* turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags with arrows *in their bodies*' (*odun oqǰatču qarin qarbučaǰu uqurqatu qulan sumutu buqu bolǰu otbai*). The expression *odun oqǰatču qarin qarbučaǰu* is idiomatic (note the alliteration) and it seems to apply to the well-known tactic of feigning retreat, then turning back and shooting arrows at the enemy (cf., e.g., MM, 36-37; CG, 191; and see above, nn. 194 and 195), used here by the Merkit forces which were numerically at a great disadvantage vis-à-vis the Mongols. This tactic was evidently quite effective, since the Merkit were thus able to make good their escape even if, as the narrator vividly describes, they were then like wild asses (or horses: *qulan*, see above, n. 48) with the loop of the *ūrγa* (mmo. *uqurqa* = pmo. and mo. *uγurγa*, kh. *urga* 'a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses' [Les., 881a]) over their necks, or like stags with arrows in their flesh, i.e. wounded and impaired. For the entire sentence see the important remarks in Oz[1], V, 29-31, nn. 3, 4, which rectify previous interpretations; however, with regard to the verb *oqǰat-* (w.f. *oγǰad-*) 'to be frightened (alarmed *or* startled)', Ozawa's interpretation must be reconciled with Oz[1], IV, 292-293, n. 6, dealing with the same verb occurring in § 193. *Oqǰat-* is a denominal verb in *-t* (*-d*) from **oqǰa* (= **oγǰa*). Cf. mo. *oγǰo* (< **oγǰa*), kh. *ogž* 'quick, sudden, unexpected; fearful' (Cëv., 408a; see TH, 115 [= ǰYT, 204]; MÜIT, 338b-339a). Clearly, as noted by Ozawa, the verb carries the meaning both of 'to be in fear' and 'to be pressed *or* in haste', hence my rendering.

This whole section is in 'semi-epic' style, i.e. it combines poetic imagery with realistic advice. Some or most of it could indeed be rendered poetically, as Even and Pop have done (Ev-Pop, 164-166); however, I have refrained from doing so because

of its 'bitty' character. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 70; Poucha 1955, 168-170 (for a remarkable parallel in Herodotus); Khomonov 1981, 55-56. For some interesting remarks and further references, and for other ancient popular sayings in this section, see Li, 168, n. 199.

For *tarbaqan* (= mo. *tarbaγa*[*n*]) 'marmot', see above, n. 89; cf. also MED, 332b.

'If they ... plunge', lit. 'If they ... enter' (*oro'asu*).

'Tenggis Sea' (Tenggis Dalai): see the discussion on Tenggis in n. 1 above. The word *dalai* 'sea, ocean, great lake, etc.' appears here for the first time, glossed *hai* 海 id. On *dalai* see TMEN, no. 196; de Rachewiltz 1983, 274-276, 280, n. 32; Sinor 1972. Judging by the context, this expression is here used metaphorically with the general meaning of 'the Ocean', rather than specifically, as in § 1, with the meaning of Tenggis/Baikal (?); but there is disagreement between the interlinear gloss (Y^2 8, 7a) and the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 11a), the latter supporting the generic designation (*hai* 'sea, ocean' *tout court*). See Wa, 282. Cf. Oz^1, V, 26; Oz^2, II, 53 ('lakes and seas').

Gölmi and *qubči'ur* (= mo. *γubčiγur*) designate two types of fishing nets; according to the Chinese gloss, the former is a casting net and the latter a dragnet (*qubči'ur* already appears in § 75). For *gölmi*, cf. RH, 70, no. 25 and n. 1. Interestingly enough, *both gölmi* (~ *gölme*, *gölüme*, *gölim*) and *γubčiγur* (*qubči'ur*, *qubčūr*) mean also 'saddle cloth, shabrack.' For these terms and their semantic development, see Oz^1, V, 31-32, nn. 6, 7; Pelliot 1944c, 159ff.; TMEN, no. 266 (s.v. '*qubčūr*); Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 730-733.

'Mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*', lit. 'thinking of the distance of the territory.' Cf. above, n. 194.

'The army mounts' (*čerig-ün ula'a*). For *ula'a(n)* (= mo. *ulaγa*[*n*]) '(re)mount, post or relay horse', a loan-word from tu. *ulaγ* 'a technical term for a horse used for carrying goods or riding, more particularly a horse for hire and a post horse' (ED, 136a-b), see TMEN, no. 521; Mo, 254; Arakawa 1994; Cleaves 1988, 157-158, n. 17; MMḤS, 88, n. 20; Oz^1, V, 32, n. 8; and

SH, §§ 279-281 and com. Regulations concerning the use of post horses (*ula'a*) and provisions, i.e. rations (*ši'üsü*), figure prominently in the official documents of the Yüan period. Cf. MMḤS, 46-47 et passim. In our text, the term for 'provisions' is *günesü* (cf. §§ 93, 175), but *ši'üsün* is also found in the SH (§ 280). See below, n. 280.

'If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use (lit. "it will not do") to spare it *then*.' For this sentence see Mo, 107.

'If your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? (lit. "to save them will not do").' For this sentence see ibid., 197.

'Thinking ahead', lit. 'thinking beyond (i.e. of what is beyond).' Cf., however, Oz[1], V, 26, 34-35, n. 11; Oz[2], II, 54; Ev-Pop, 165. I do not think that *alus* = 'distance' in this case, since the caution about the distance had been given only a few lines before.

'Do not allow your soldiers … (to) make circular battues (*bu abalatqun*) without limit.' This provision of the *ǰasaq* on limited or controlled hunting is worth noting, also for its economic implications. See MCS, 33-34. Cf. also above, nn. 115, 190, for the verb *abala-* 'to hunt by making a circular hunt or battue.'

'In order to give (lit. "saying, 'Let there be'") additional provisions (*neme'esün önggegü-yen*).' The verb *öngge-*, glossed *tseng-i* 增益 'to increase', corresponds to mo. *önggeyi-* 'to increase (in price).' See Kow., 497a. Cf. Ko, 556.

'To fix the crupper to the saddle', lit. 'to crupper the crupper of the saddle.' For *qudurqa* (= mo. *qudurγa*) 'crupper', cf. TMEN, no. 1494; RH, 289, no. 20.

'With their mouths free' (*sudalbiǰu*), i.e. without putting in the bit. The verb *sudalbi-* 'to remove the bit from the horse's mouth' is still preserved in Dagur (*sodolbi-* id.). Cf. ma. *sudamimbi* 'to remove the bit, to take out the bit (of livestock)' (CMEL, 250a). See TH, 242-243 (= ǰYT, 419).

'Will not be able', lit. 'who will be able?' – a rhetorical question. 'The soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way (lit. "when they go")' because they would not be able to ride a horse without a crupper at a gallop, and could not direct and control one without bridle and with a loose bit. The purpose of this order is to avoid unnecessarily fatiguing the horses before reaching their destination. Cf. A. Mostaert *apud* Cl, 134, n. 13.

'Thus, making *this a matter of* law (*ǰasaqlaǰu*)', i.e. turning the military directive into a law (*ǰasaq*) for future application. Cf. § 199 and com.; Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 8; idem 1974, 473; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

'In the same way', i.e. as before. For the entire passage beginning 'Beyond the rivers' and ending 'there and then!', see Mo, 124-125. My rendering of the poetic passage diverges from the translations of Mostaert, Cleaves, Ozawa and others insofar as I have adopted N. Poppe's interpretation of the verb *möseldü-*, reciprocal voice of *möse-*, a word unattested in Mongolian except for this single occurrence in the SH. As stated by Poppe (p.c.), *möse-* corresponds to ma. *muse-* (< *müse-*) 'to lose courage' (SSTMY, I, 561a). Cf. CMED, 206a: *musembi* '1. to bend, to become bent, to become warped; 2. to become discouraged, to become disheartened.' The word is undoubtedly a borrowing from Tungus, as evident also from the characteristic verbal root ending *se*, comparatively rare in Mongolian (see, e.g., RIM, 74-76; cf. MEDRL, 6). *Möseldü-* is paralleled with the verb *alqasaldu-* (rec. of *alqasa-*) in the second half of the poetic passage. *Alqasa-* (= mo. *alγasa-*) has also two basic meanings with a rather wide semantic spectrum: 1. 'to be separated, divided or disconnected', and 2. 'to be distracted, confused, perplexed, inattentive, remiss, discouraged, worried, etc.' Cf. Les., 31a; MKT, 47a; OECD, 28a; MKeT, 80a. Clearly, 1 and 2 are related, 2 being a semantic development from 1 (to be separated → distracted → confused → discouraged → remiss, etc.). In the SH, § 181, we find the factitive form *alqasa'ul-* 'to cause to divide, to rend'; in § 260 we have the expressions *aburi-yan alqasa-* 'to be neglectful of

(= to dissipate, diminish) one's natural virtue (= ardour)' and *setkil-iyen alqasa-* 'to lose heart', lit. 'to be neglectful of one's thoughts (*or* heart).' Cf. HW, 5. For the usage of *alqasa-* in preclassical texts, cf. also Cleaves 1954, 76 [4-159a] and 78 [4-160a]. The Ming translators were undoubtedly acquainted with the various meanings of this word, and took the expression *alqasalduqun ta* of our passage to mean 'you will separate (*or* divide) yourselves' (分離您). I believe, however, that they were not acquainted with the, by then, obsolete Tungus word *möse-*, but since the expression *alqasalduqun ta* corresponded to the expression *möseldükün* (*ta*) in the first half of the poetic passage, they *assumed* that the latter likewise meant 'to separate oneself' (分離) and translated accordingly ('Beyond the rivers/You will perhaps separate yourselves ... /Beyond the mountains/You will perhaps separate yourselves ...'). Had they assumed that *alqasa-* meant, in this context, 'to lose heart' instead of 'to separate oneself', they would have been correct in their rendering of *möse-* too, but this was not the case. I should add that the sectional summary is of little help in the present instance (see below). The nomen futuri in *-qun/-kün* (pl. of *-qu/-kü*) indicates here a potential situation, hence my insertion of 'perhaps.' For this use of the nomen futuri, also in conjunction with the same verb *alqasa-*, cf. the expression *alγasaqu sedkil anu* 'their thoughts which could be distracted' (Cleaves 1954, 78 [4-160a]; Mostaert: 'leur pensées qui pourraient être distraites', ibid., 104, n. 156).

'But think of nothing else apart (lit. "apart and separately") from *your mission*', i.e. in spite of all the difficulties of the long journey in pursuit of Toqto'a's sons which may dampen their spirits, Sübe'etei's troops are urged to press on regardless, single-mindedly. The sectional summary says simply 'You must be attentive' (Y^2 8, 11b). For a different interpretation of Činggis' words, see Mo, 125, n. 118; cf. Cl, 135, n. 14.

'If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power', lit. 'If strength and power are increased by Eternal Heaven.' (At the end of this section Činggis refers also to the protection of

Heaven Above.) For this terminology, see above, n. 113, and below, nn. 201, 208. For the '*mot-couple*' *güčü auqa* (= mo. *küčü*[*n*] *auɣa ~ auɣa küčün*) 'strength-power', cf. Cleaves 1996, 10-11, n. 56 where, however, for '*a'uɣa*' read '*auɣa*'.

'You capture', lit. 'you cause to enter into your hands.'

'There is no need *for you* to bring them back', lit. 'why *go* so far as bringing *them*?'

The episode of Činggis, then Temüǰin, chased ('to be frightened' in the old Mongolian language often implied being pursued and fleeing for one's life) by the Merkit chieftains – the 'Three Merkit' (here the Uduyit Merkit is singled out because Toqto'a was its chief) – is the one related in § 102, an ordeal that had clearly left an indelible impression on Činggis.

'Swearing oaths', lit. 'letting loose the mouth and tongue' (*aman kelen aldaǰu*), an idiomatic expression still used in Mongolian.

'You shall reach', lit. 'let him (i.e. you – Sübe'etei) reach together (= meet, i.e. with the enemy).'

'To the furthest limit, etc.' For this expression, see § 166 ad fin. and com. Činggis means that he, through Sübe'etei, will go to any lengths to punish them.

'He had an iron cart made', lit. 'he had an iron cart beaten out', i.e. with the iron reinforcements hammered on to the cart. See above.

'To pursue them to the very end', lit. 'making him (Sübe'etei) pursue them, going to the extremity (*üǰü'ülen*).' For *üǰü'üle-* (= pmo. *üǰügüle-*) 'to go to (*or* reach) the end (limit, extremity)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 115, n. 95; idem 1994, 19, n. 31.

'With these *final* instructions', lit. 'He ordered, saying.'

For the final passage, 'If you constantly (lit. "go on") think, etc.', see Cleaves 1951, 81, n. 54; *Lettres*, 60; Ligeti 1971, 156 (for a different interpretation; but cf. Li, 87 and 168, n. 199!). Cf. also Street 1981, 153, where *yabu'asu* is correctly taken as an auxiliary of continuity ('If you keep thinking'). See Mo, 195, and Aalto 1973, 36, versus *Lettres*, 60, and Cl, 135. The 'We' (*bidani*, acc.) is a *pluralis majestatis*, not employed in Činggis'

previous words to Sübe'etei. Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 11b), where the same pronoun *wo* 我 'I' is used in both passages. One wonders whether the *pluralis majestatis*, which is used so inconsistently in the SH (cf., e.g., § 224), was found in the original recension or is due to later editorial changes, like Činggis Qan → Činggis Qa'an ~ Qan. In any event, such inconsistency in the usage of the first person singular and plural should not surprise us since it is well attested in the documents of the Mongol period (see, e.g., MPa, 16-21, and the important remarks in 'Trois documents', 454), as indeed in classical works, the Koran among them. See *The Koran*, 9, n. 2. For *ba* 'we' = 'I', cf. below, n. 201. Concerning the pronouns (*ba* and *bida*) of the first person plural, cf. *Lettres*, 66. The expression *ečine ber bö'esü ile metü, qolo ber bö'esü oyira metü setki-* 'to think that even out of sight it is like being visible, even being far it is like being near' is, as rightly put by Ligeti (Ligeti 1971, 156), a 'fameuse sentence des anciens Mongols' – a phrase frequently used by them to overcome the feeling of separation and distance, and still now expressed in similar forms in proverbs and popular sayings. See, e.g., MCÜD, I, 101; II, 91, s.v. 'xol.'

§ **200**. In §§ 200-201 the final confrontation between Činggis Qan and J̌amuqa, and the latter's demise, are recounted in epic form – one of the highlights of the SH from both the dramatic and literary points of view.

The Tanglu (< Tangnu) is the present-day Tangnu Range, i.e. the Tangnu Ola (Ula, Uul), Tannu Ola or Tagnïn Nuruu of our maps, in the southern Tuvin Republic. Tanglu (T'ang-lu) is also the form we find in Y^2 63, 1575. Cf. Hambis 1956, 291 and 299, n. 44; Pėrlėė^2, 9. We are not told in which part of the Tangnu Range J̌amuqa and his companions had taken shelter. The wild sheep they killed was a male wild mountain sheep or argali (*uqulǰa*, mo. *uγulǰa*, *uγalǰa*), i.e. *Ovis ammon*, on which see Colmon 2002, 166.

'Whose sons, etc.' As already pointed out by Mostaert, J̌amuqa is saying to his companions: 'Who (lit. "the sons of whom") is so lucky today to eat wild sheep's meat like you?'; in other words, 'You owe it to me if your lot is better than that of many other people.' See Mo, 126; Li, 168-169, n. 200. However, J̌amuqa's remark can be understood differently. Instead of being a rhetorical question (requiring the answer 'Very few indeed!'), these words could have been uttered in a self-mocking, sarcastic manner, the 'sons' being, in fact, J̌amuqa himself and his five companions, once powerful leaders and now destitute fugitives. In English, the sentence would then end with an exclamation, rather than a question mark. For this interpretation, cf. Na^2, 263; Ko, 154; Mu, II, 327, 336, n. 3; Do^1, 211, 215-216, n. 2; Oz^1, V, 48, 54, n. 2; On, 106 and n. 258 (cf. the 2001 ed., 185, n. 461). Whatever the meaning of J̌amuqa's remark, his companions, evidently tired of their leader and of their not so enviable life as outcasts (*o'orčaq*, see above, n. 156), decided to hand him over to Činggis Qan.

The meaning of the alliterative message conveyed by J̌amuqa to his *anda* is that the latter should not be mistaken about the treacherous act of J̌amuqa's former companions and condone it. The imagery used is the same as that found in Čilger Bökö's 'lament' in § 111, to which the reader is referred. Common tribesmen (*qaraču*, which I have rendered as 'black skins' to retain the colour component of the image), slaves (*bo'ol*) and servants (*nekün*, see below) who dare lay hands on their lord and master (*qan*, *ejen*; cf. above, § 149) are compared to vile and predatory birds like black crows and grey buzzards catching noble fowls like the mandarin and wild ducks (*qarambai noqosu* and *borčin sono*). My rendering of the names of these fowls is tentative since we do not know precisely what kind of ducks they designate. *Qarambai noqosu*, or *qarambai* duck, may correspond to mo. *qarqamai noγosu*, ma. *irgece niyehe* 'one name for the mandarin duck', i.e. the *Aix galericulata*. See WTCWC, III, 4154.3; CMEL, 150a; Oz^1, V, 54-55, n. 3. Cf. also Ra, VIII, 38-39, n. 200; Vietze 1990, 384. For the

enigmatic *borčin sono* (almost certainly a borrowing from Turkic), I have followed Ligeti who renders it with 'canard sauvage.' See his detailed discussion in Ligeti 1951, 354-355, n. 25. Cf. HCG, 120; Mo, 128, n. 124. Ozawa, following Murakami, renders it as 'falcated teal' (*yoshigamo* 葦鴨), i.e. *Anas falcata*, but Murakami's identification is largely speculative. See Mu, II, 337, n. 5; Oz[1], V, 56-57, n. 6; Oz[2], II, 56.

'Have gone so far/As to …', or 'Have come (*or* reached) the point/Of ….' For this construction, which is found also in the above-mentioned poetic passage in § 111, see Mo, 193ff.

In § 111, 'to lay one's hands on' is expressed in Mongolian with the verb *qal-* (on which see Mo, 52); and in § 149, 'to lay one's hands on (one's lord, lit. *qan*)' is expressed with the single verb *qarda-* (= mo. *γarda-*), whereas in § 200 we find both *qarda-* and the expression *qar gürge-* (= mo. *γar kürge-*), lit. 'to cause the hand(s) to reach', which I render with 'to raise one's hands against.'

'How can you be mistaken?', i.e. 'How can you be deceived (by that)?' For these words, cf. *Lettres*, 61.

Nekün is one of several terms used by the ancient Mongols to designate domestics (see Vlad.[2], 154 and n. 7) and is glossed *chia-jen* 'household servant.' Ozawa identifies *nekün* with the term *nekegül* (> *neke'ül* > *nekül* > *nekün* [*nekü(n)*]). See Oz[1], V, 57-59, n. 7. This is not likely, since in the 13th-14th centuries *nekegül* did not mean 'servant', but 'a member of the retinue, a follower', lit. 'a pursuer' (from *neke-* 'to pursue' + dev. noun suff. *-gül*, on which see GWM, 46, § 153). Cf. TMEN, no. 392. It would, therefore, correspond to ch. *ts'ung-jen* 從人 or *ts'ung-che* 從者, not to *chia-jen*. Furthermore, in the language of the SH, *nekegül* would have resulted in *neke'ül*, not *nekül/nekün*. Cf. *degüü* > *de'ü*, *negü-* > *ne'ü-*, *kečegü(n)* > *keče'ü(n)*, etc. In fact, the word *nekün* 'servant' appears in this form not only in the SH (also as a proper and geographical name), but also in LH (1928), 72, in the compound *nekün bōl* 'female slave.' Cf. HCG, 49, for further references.

On the rare word *büdün* 'one's own, proper', see Mo, 37, n. 37. Several translators are divided as to its original reading and meaning, particularly in view of its earlier occurrence in § 103 where it is likewise glossed as *pen* 本 'one's own, original, proper.' In § 103, Cleaves renders *büdün* with 'own' (*büdün beye'en* 'mine own body'), and in § 200 *büdün eǰen-iyen* is rendered 'their proper lord' (Cl, 36, 136). A few lines later, the words *tus qan-dur-iyan* are translated 'upon their proper *qan*' (Cl, 137). Cf. § 149, *tus qan-iyan* 'our proper *qan*' (Cl, 78). Therefore, Cleaves takes the word *büdün* in § 103 to mean 'one's own' and the same word in § 200 to mean 'proper', but in the sense of 'right, correct, legitimate' (= *tus*). The Chinese word used to render *büdün* in the SH, i.e. *pen* 本, is indeed also ambivalent since it means both 'one's own, proper', and 'original, true.' However, it is difficult to reconcile this ambiguity in Mongolian, hence the conflicting interpretations that we find in the various translations. Among the more recent ones, cf., e.g., Da[5], 48 (§ 103) 'whole' (*bütėn*), 159 (§ 200) 'powerful ones' (*bodot*); Do[1], 59 (§ 103) 'whole' (全), 212, 216-217, n. 5 (§ 200) 'true' (真); El-Ar, 240, 243, n. 7 (§ 103) 'whole' (*budun* = *bütün*), 641, 644, n. 8 (§ 200) 'right' (*budun* = *čoqum*); Га, 41, 291, n. 351 (§ 103) 'powerful (*bodan/bodon*), 132 (§ 200), id.; Če, 71 (§ 103) 'whole' (*bütün*), 178, 432-433, n. 451 (§ 200) 'powerful one' (*bodon* = *bodong*); Ta, 38 (§ 103) '(my) own/proper', 132 (§ 200) '(their) own/proper'; On, 32 (§ 103) 'my', 107 (§ 200) 'rightful'; Ev-Pop, 70 (§ 103) 'whole, all in one piece' (*tout entière*), 167 (§ 200) '(their) proper.' In § 103, Ozawa reads *büdün* = *bütün* 'whole' (*mattaki*), whereas in § 200 he reads *budun* = *boda* 'true' (*mattaki*). See Oz[1], II, 229, 231, 234-235, n. 4; V, 45, 48, 59-60, n. 8; cf. Oz[2], I, 181; II, 56. However, mo. *bodo*, *boda* (kh. *bod*) 'body, person, substance, etc.' (from which derive *bodotu*, *bodatu*, *bodatai* 'real, original, genuine') appears also in the SH in the form *bodo* (see HW, 16), and it cannot be confused with *büdün*. As noted by Mostaert (loc. cit.), the reading *büdün* is supported by the AT. See AT[1],

25a. (This word is, however, read *bütün* in ATI, 18.) Mostaert also pointed out that *büdün* appears in a Sino-Mongol document of the Ming period, again glossed *pen* 本, thus confirming the accuracy of the SH glosses. As for the suggestion that SH *büdün* (本, twice) = mo. *bütün* 'whole, entire', the (fossilized) converbum modale of *bütü-* 'to be accomplished (*or* completed, prepared)', it should be noted that this verb appears also in the SH in the factitive forms *bütü'e-*, *büte'e-*, *bütē-* 'to accomplish, execute, etc.', *always* with *-t-* (see HW, 24; R, 205a). In view of the above, I think that Mostaert's interpretation, followed by Ligeti and others, that there existed in Mongolian a word *büdün* meaning simply 'one's own, proper, personal', hence also 'original', i.e. 'belonging or pertaining to the original owner', is quite plausible. In time this word may well have developed the meaning of 'genuine, true', eventually coalescing with the word *bütün*, identically written and encompassing also the meanings of 'intact, unmarred, in good order' (cf. tu. *bütün* 'complete, entire; genuine, perfect'), hence the disappearance of the original *büdün* from the living language. See ED, 306b. (In the case of ch. *pen* 本 we have a reverse semantic development: 'root, origin(al)' → 'proper, one's own'.) On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that there existed only one word, i.e. *bütün* ~ *büdün* (cf. tu. *bütün* ~ *büdün*), meaning 1) 'one's own, proper' (本), and 2) 'whole, complete' (完全), as proposed in TH, 161 (= ǰYT, 282-283).

For the verb *boso-* 'to encircle, surround; to obstruct', cf. Mo, 163; Oz[1], V, 60-61, n. 9.

For the epithet *boqda* (~ *boqdo*) 'wise, enlightened', see above, n. 121. This is the first time it is applied to Činggis Qan. I have followed the Chinese gloss in translating it as 'wise' instead of 'holy (*or* saintly)', which under the influence of Buddhism will later become the common epithet of the conqueror.

The entire poetic passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 126-129, 193. Cf. also *Lettres*, 61; Li, 168-169, n. 200.

On the principle of loyalty to one's chief, see the comment in n. 149 above.

'If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would (lit. "do/will") you think of separating yourself *from me* and being on your own?' – a rhetorical question, which is however rendered as a statement in Cl, 137 (cf. Mo, 182, id.): 'As we are together becoming ..., thou thinkest of severing thyself ... .' See also Do[1], 212; Če, 179; Ev-Pop, 167. The sectional summary (Y^2 8, 16a) understands differently: 'Formerly, I made you one shaft of a cart *when I was the other*, but you separated yourself from me.' Cf. Wa, 283. Nevertheless, in view of the presence of the converbum conditionale (*bolulčaju a'asu*, lit. 'if we are becoming'), I believe that the sentence should be rendered as I have done, and that the words *setkimü či* 'you think' should be read *setkimǖ* (= *setkimüü*) *či* 'do you think?' Cf. Oz[1], V, 63-65, n. 13. If, on the other hand, we follow the sectional summary's interpretation and regard *setkimü* as a historical present, we should translate: 'When *formerly* we became ..., you thought of (i.e. intended to) ... .' This interpretation is followed by several scholars, including Ligeti. See Li, 88. For other similes involving the shafts of a cart, see §§ 177 and 186. The meaning here is that the two companions would be so bound in friendship as to be like the two inseparable and indispensable shafts of a cart.

'Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten,/Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.' This also seems to be an idiomatic phrase or popular saying. My interpretation of the words *untaraqsan-iyan seri'ülülčejü* disagrees with Ligeti's and Murakami's and follows that of Haenisch, Kozin, Cleaves and Ozawa, which is not only in agreement with the Chinese sectional summary (see Y^2 8, 16a; cf. Wa, 283), but is also confirmed by the passage in § 201, where J̌amuqa refers to the exchange of 'unforgettable words', i.e. the former oath of sworn friendship, and to not being separated from each other in bed. Cf. § 117: 'They declared

themselves sworn friends and loved each other …, and at night they slept together.' See also §§ 255 and 272.

'Although you separated from me/And went a different way', lit. 'Although you separated and went elsewhere.'

For the expression *ölǰeitü qutuqtu* 'lucky and blessed', cf. the words spoken by Činggis to his faithful Bo'orču and J̌elme in § 125: 'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, you, the senior ones, who for my sake came *over* from sworn friend J̌amuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions (*ölǰeiten nököt*)?' It implies the sharing with sworn friends (*andas*) and companions (*nököt*) of the good fortune accorded to Činggis by Heaven and Earth. For the connotations of the word *qutuqtu*, which I render here as 'blessed', i.e. enjoying Heaven's favour (cf. eng. 'blessed with' = 'fortunate in the possession of'), see above, nn. 105 and 111. Cf. Cleaves 1950, 126, n. 247.

'When was that?', lit. 'If you say, "When?"'

On the battle at the Qalaqalǰit Sands and J̌amuqa's action to which Činggis Qan refers, see § 170.

The passage from 'Then', to the end of § 200 is translated and discussed in Mo, 121-124. On the second service (*tusa*) rendered by J̌amuqa to Činggis Qan, see §§ 195-196. For the refrain 'Slaying them with your words,/Killing them with your mouth', see § 196, where these words are used by J̌amuqa in relation to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. Cf. also Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 70, 77, for this saying.

§ **201**. For the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq J̌ubur), see §§ 57 and 104 and com. The event in question, i.e. the declaration of *anda*-ship between Temüǰin and J̌amuqa, had taken place in the Qorqonaq Valley when Temüǰin was eleven (= ten) years old, as recalled in § 116, at the time when the pledge or oath of friendship was renewed after the raid against the Uduyit Merkit.

For the 'indigestible food' and 'unforgettable words', see below.

'Words that are not to be forgotten', 'weighty words', 'unforgettable words': like Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsürėn and others, I understand these expressions to refer to the words of love and the oaths of friendship exchanged between Činggis Qan – then only Temüǰin – and J̌amuqa when they first became *anda*s and, presumably, also at the time when they renewed their pledges (§§ 116-117). However, Ligeti understands them as meaning 'hateful, angry words', i.e. unpleasant, offending words (Li, 89 and 169, n. 201). I think that Waley (Wa, 283) is right in taking the expression 'the food that is not to be digested' to mean 'each other's blood'; but this expression could also mean 'the unforgettable meals' – 'indigestible food' being in parallelism with 'unforgettable words' – they shared at the time. N. Poppe has suggested (p. c.) that by food that is not, or would never be, digested is probably meant food that is plentiful, i.e. of which there would always be enough. With regard to the 'black face' and the 'red face' further on, he has suggested that the former may simply mean 'my own face' and the latter 'my own face' or 'my bare face.' See also Poppe 1977, 122, no.16; 125, nos. 37 and 38.

'Stirred up *by someone*/Coming between us, etc.' Cf. Činggis Qan's almost identical words in his message to Ong Qan in § 177, and Mostaert's remarks in Mo, 97-98.

For the obsolete verb *qalit-* 'to come near, approach', cf. Vietze 1990, 382; Oz[1], V, 81, n. 5 (1).

'The friendly face', lit. 'the warm countenance.'

'Came off *in shame*', lit. 'was flayed.'

'With a long memory.' The expression *urtu setkiltü*, lit. 'having a long (*or* extended) mind/heart', has been variously translated as 'patient', 'sagacious', 'generous', 'magnanimous', 'with a long memory', 'far-sighted' and 'eagle-eyed.' Clearly, there is disagreement as to the exact connotations of this rather unusual expression. However, since it is used by J̌amuqa in the context of his reply to the earlier message of Činggis Qan, and therefore in the context of 'recollections' – of words and events that 'cannot be forgotten' – Cleaves' rendering 'with a long

memory' (Cl, 138) appears to be the correct one. Činggis has a 'long' *setkil*, which here is not the 'mind' in the sense of 'heart' (hence 'generosity, magnanimity'), but the faculty to think and remember. As in the case of ch. *hsiang* 想, the verb *setki-* (always glossed *hsiang* in the SH; see HW, 134) means both 'to think' and 'to recall'; *setkil* has therefore also the meaning of 'recollection, memory.' Cf. mo. *sedkil tögeri-* 'to lose one's memory; for the mind to wonder.' See Cleaves 1949, 67 [48], 91 [48]; MA, 321b. Renderings like 'far-sighted', 'generous' and 'patient' are, I believe, off the mark. *Urtu setkiltü* means 'having an extended recollection', i.e. a good memory, which certainly applies to Činggis in the present instance. Ta, 134, is of the same opinion.

'All *our* people', lit. 'the people all around *us*' (*tögörigei ulus*), i.e. the Mongol tribes – in contrast to 'all other (lit. "foreign") peoples' (*qari tutum*), i.e. all the other tribes. At this time one cannot yet speak of 'nations' and 'realms' (Cl, 139). Cf. Oz[1], V, 74 (and Oz[2], II, 58); On, 109. For the word *tögörigei*, cf. DO, 673a; for *qari*, see above, n. 123.

'Now that the world is at your disposal', lit. 'Now that the world is ready *for you*.' For these words as an expression of the political ideology of the Mongols, see Sagaster 1973, 223ff. Cf. also Cleaves 1949, 62 [3], 83 [4]. For *delegei* (= *delekei*) 'the earth, the world', cf. RH, 246, no. 8; MMḤS, 111, Note 117.

'I would intrude into', lit. 'I shall enter.'

'The inner lapel of your coat' renders Mongolian *ǰahing-un činu*. For *ǰahing* 'inner lapel of a coat', cf. bur. *zaĭn* 'pocket' (BRS, 245b, s.v. 'zaĭn II'); yak. *ǰayïŋ* 1) 'side'; 2) 'wedge, a side inset in the shape of a fold in a dress' (SYY, 775). In other Mongolian dialects we find the word *ǰašin ~ ǰašing* meaning 'a partition board', 'a square frame or door panel', etc. (see TY, 290 [= ǰYT, 503-504]; cf. On, 109 and n. 261; Oz[1], V, 75, and 82-83, n. 8) – all meanings, however, totally unrelated to that of the Chinese gloss in the SH (*ti-chin* 底襟 [= 衿] 'inner lapel of a coat') which I follow since it is also confirmed by the Yakut

form. The transcription *ǰahing* is undoubtedly faulty; the original form must have been **ǰaying*. In all probability, the *-h-* plays here the role of intervocalic hiatus: *ǰahing* = *ǰa'ing*. Cf. *qahan* = *qa'an* (see above, n. 1). For *-y-* ~ *-'-*, see below, nn. 202, 204. However, this problem deserves further study.

'I had many paternal grandmothers.' As pointed out by Mostaert (*apud* Cl, 139, n. 36), the reference is to the wives of J̌amuqa's grandfather who brought him up after the early death of his parents (mentioned a little later). J̌amuqa wants to stress the fact that as a young boy he was surrounded by old women, *emege* meaning both 'paternal grandmother' and 'old woman' – hence Even and Pop's rendering 'J'ai été entouré de vieilles femmes' (Ev-Pop, 169). For other interpretations of J̌amuqa's words, cf. Ja, 285 and 286-287, n. 2; On, 109 and n. 262.

'When I became disloyal to my sworn friend', lit. 'Thinking (*or* Feeling: *setkigü*) beyond (= away from) the sworn friend.' For these words cf., however, Mo, 174; Cl, 139; and Ev-Pop, 289, n. 16.

'In this life – *that* of the sworn friend and me –', lit. 'in this life – *that* of the sworn friend and us –' (*ene törelki-tür anda ba qoyar-un* ...). In the SH, the pronoun of the first person plural *ba* plays, in certain circumstances such as a construction with the word *qoyar* 'two' = 'and', the role of *bi* 'I' without being a *pluralis majestatis*. See § 255 (twice). Cf. mo. *anda bida qoyar-un* (Bö, 193; Du, 172; Ma, 246; Če, 183), and *anda bi qoyar-un* (Al, 123).

'My fame has passed (lit. "reached") from sunrise to sunset.' What J̌amuqa implies, of course, is that his fame has now declined. I prefer this interpretation to that of 'I (*or* We) have acquired fame from east to west' (Ha, 90; Ko, 156-157; Li, 89; Mu, II, 332; Oz[1], V, 75; and others), since in the following sentences J̌amuqa gives the reasons for his decline vis-à-vis Činggis Qan.

'You were born a hero', lit. 'You were born a hero by birth' (*törülki külük toreǰü*). *Törülki* 'birth' = *törelki*. For *törü-* = *töre-*

~ *törö-* 'to be born', see the discussion in *Matériel II*, 12-14. For *külük* (= mo. *külüg*) 'hero', see above, nn. 3 and 163.

'Valiant companions' renders *örlü'üt nököt* (= mo. *örlügüd nököd*). On the important term *örlük* (= mo. *örlüg*; pl. *örlügüt* > *örlü'üt*) 'brave, valiant, fierce', which later became a title, see HCG, 341; Mo, 70, n. 62; DO, 538a; ET^2, I, 75. According to Gaadamba, the *örlü'üt nököt*, or *yisün örlük* 'the nine valiant ones (= paladins)', were those early loyal companions of Činggis Qan who were not punished for up to nine infringements of the *jasaq* in reward for their meritorious service. See MNTSZA, 41-59; Aubin 1974, 12; and above, n. 195. However, in the SH the term *örlü'üt* occurs only once and there is no indication that its meaning was other than that of 'valiant.' Cf. also the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 23a; Wa, 284).

'Seventy-three geldings.' As already noted by Cleaves (Cl, 139, n. 39), the reference to such a precise number of horses, which is unsupported by other sources, is rather puzzling. Grousset's personal interpretation as 'The seventy-three fine men who form your entourage serve you as so many loyal steeds' in CW, 164, must be rejected, I believe, as well as the similar interpretation given in On, 109, n. 263 (cf. the 2001 ed., 189, n. 466). Cf. also Oz^1, V, 87, n. 12. For Ligeti, 'seventy-three' is simply a large number, being more than 'seventy' (*dalan*) which, besides its concrete numerical value, has also the meaning of 'many, all' (Les., 223b). See Li, 169, n. 201. I think that Jamuqa's allusion is to a specific story (possibly an epic one) concerning these geldings which unfortunately has not been handed down.

'And had no younger brothers.' See above, n. 128, and Cl, 139-140, n. 40.

For *domoqči* (= mo. *domoγči*) 'prattler, babbler', cf. Bazin 1969, 10ff. In the later literary language and in the dialects this word is used with the meanings of 'story-teller, narrator of legends and folktales; teaser; satirist.' See Les., 261a; MMED, 169b. The remarks concerning Cerensodnom's interpretation in Ev-Pop, 289, n. 17, are no longer pertinent. See Če, 183.

'Whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven.' For the expression *tenggeri-eče ǰaya'atu*, see above, n. 1.

'Let me die swiftly … let them kill me without shedding blood.' It is a well-known fact that in the case of executions the medieval Mongols regarded a bloodless death as preferable to one in which blood was shed (see below). It was, in fact, the privilege of the *qan*'s close relatives and enemies of noble birth to undergo a bloodless death. However, this practice, stemming from the ancient religious beliefs of the Turks and the Mongols, and their conception of a soul residing in the blood, was not strictly observed. Cf., e.g., § 136 and com. J̌amuqa, being a tribal leader, a relative of Činggis Qan, and his *anda*, was entitled to this privilege, hence his request. In the epic account of the SH, the game is played according to the rules until the final act, but, as we shall see, this may not reflect the true course of events.

'My bones', lit. 'my dead bones' (*ölük yasun minu*), i.e. 'my corpse.' For this expression, cf. Tomka 1965, 161 and n. 7; and above, n. 175. For the word *ölük* (= pmo. *ölüg*) 'dead, deceased', a borrowing from Turkic, see Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 621; Rassadin 1995, 113. The integrity of the skeleton, which was also the seat of a soul, and hence the preservation of bones, was essential for the spiritual survival of the individual after death. See Roux 1976, 557ff.; Even 1999, 176.

'High place' renders Mongolian *ündür etügen*, lit. 'high earth.' Apparently, the term *etügen* (~ *ötögen*; cf. § 255) 'Earth' (as the counterpart of *tenggeri* 'Heaven') is used here as an honorific designation for a site on earth. The Chinese gloss is *ti* 地 'earth; place.' For the custom of burying chiefs and personages of rank on elevated places such as cliffs and mountain slopes, cf. above, nn. 164, 175, and below, n. 268.

For *sülder*, rendered here (as in § 63) with the expression 'the august spirit', cf. above, n. 63. It is clear from our text that the soul of an enemy of noble birth could exert a beneficial influence over the entire family line of his conqueror. The

Mongols, like other Altaic people, believed that a defeated enemy was bound to his victor-master not only in his lifetime but also after his death. The nobler and stronger the enemy had been in his lifetime and, therefore, the greater his 'virtue', the more powerful was his influence in the afterlife. In order to retain his power and turn it to beneficial use it was essential that his blood, the seat or vehicle of one of his souls (the integrity of which ensured spiritual survival), should not be dispersed in the ground. However, the concept of a relation between the 'soul' (or 'souls') and the 'virtue' of the individual is not very clear. See MP[2], II, 343, 344, n. 1, 414 (cf. MP[3], 105, 117); MCPA, 75-81 et passim; Turan 1955, 82; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 213; Boyle 1963a, 204. On the 'soul(s)' and the afterlife conception of the ancient Turks and Mongols, see also Baskakov 1973; KHIV, 149ff.; Even 1999, 166-176. On the theme of bloodless killing and revenge in relation to J̌amuqa and other personages, and in the wider context of Mongolian and East Asiatic cultures, see Uray-Köhalmi 1970 (esp. pp. 261-262); Hambis 1975, 15 and n. 25; Heissig 1985, 142; Ratchnevsky 1987, 81.

'Repeat them among yourselves', lit. 'speak *them* to one another.'

'Now do away with me quickly!', lit. 'Now let *my sworn friend* dispatch me!' For the verb *ötörle- ~ öterle-* 'to do something immediately', here 'to dispatch', see above, n. 133. Cf. Mo, 244, n. 228.

'Has been railing against Us', lit. 'has been speaking a full mouth at (= against) Us.' For the expression *aman dü'üren* (= *dü'üreng*) *kelele-* (or *ügüle-*) 'to speak with anger; to abuse, rail', cf. § 276 (R, 166, lines 11432 and 11503-4).

'He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to', lit. 'He is a man who should (*or* could) learn, *but* as for him (*mün*), it will not do (i.e. he refuses)', in other words, he is an obstinate, obdurate man who will not change his ways. I follow both the Chinese interlinear version and the sectional summary, taking into consideration Waley's pertinent remarks.

See Wa, 527. J̌amuqa's 'refusals' are illustrated further on. For other interpretations, cf. Ha, 91; Li, 90; Cl, 140; Ev-Pop, 169.

'Is not in accordance with the omens' renders *tölge-tür ülü oromui*, lit. 'it does not enter (= fit) the omens'; in other words, the omens consulted by Činggis Qan do not foretell, hence do not sanction, such an action. On *tölge* 'omen, divination', see below, n. 272.

'Perhaps you should give him (lit. "tell *him*") this reason' – in other words, 'If we have to find a reason for him to die, and for me to kill him, the following may be adduced and put forth to him.' Činggis has not been sanctimoniously trying to find a way of saving his *anda*'s life, although J̌amuqa's fate is obviously sealed. In my view, he has gone through a ritual of appeasement that will ensure the goodwill and blessings of his powerful enemy after the latter's death. By recalling J̌amuqa's noble deeds and by treating him with the respect due to his social rank, Činggis avoids the danger of J̌amuqa becoming in the other world an influence hostile to him and his descendants. Cf. the 'spiritual' role of the eulogy among the ancient Turks in Bazin 1963, 83.

'He is a man of high standing', lit. 'he is a man having a heavy (= important) way (= position)' (*kündü mörtü gü'ün bui*). Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 23b): 'He is a notable man' (Wa, 284). For *mör* 'position', cf. Cleaves 1993, 36, n. 42. Cf. also Oz^1, V, 92-93, n. 22; Oz^2, II, 78, n. 15.

For the episode concerning Čoǰi (*or* J̌oči) Darmala, Taičar and J̌amuqa to which Činggis Qan refers, and the battle of Dalan Balǰut, see §§ 128-129.

'Wickedly', lit. 'in the opposite direction' (*buru'ui-a*). Cf. Cl, 140, n. 48: 'I.e., "contrary to our expectations."' I think the meaning is 'wrongly', i.e. contrary to what is right, rather than contrary to Činggis' expectations. Cf. *buru'u* (= mo. *buruγu*) 'wrong' in HW, 23; and above, n. 168.

'Stirred up rebellion *against me*', lit. 'came fomenting rebellion' (*bulqa köyitčü ireǰü*). For *bulqa*, see above, n. 150.

For *köyit-* 'to stir up, foment', cf. kir. *köĭüt-* (= *köyüt-*) 'to talk someone into something' (KiRS, I, 417b).

The 'frightening' of Činggiş Qan refers to his defeat at Dalan Baljut which forced him to seek refuge in the J̌erene Gorge by the Onon River as related in § 129. For the expressions 'to frighten' and 'to be frightened', cf. above, n. 199.

'You refuse ... you declined', lit. 'it will not do (i.e. for you) ... it could not be done.' See Mo, 244, n. 228.

'According to your request', lit. 'according to your words.'

'Be given a fitting burial', lit. 'should take them (i.e. the bones = the body) in their hands (= bury them) properly.' For this expression, see Cleaves 1951, 91-92, n. 95. As we have seen, to abandon or cast the body 'in the open' was the ultimate mark of disrespect for the deceased. See above, n. 136.

The story of the final encounter of the two former friends and allies, who had moreover strong ties of blood and *anda*-ship, is full of pathos and epic colouring, and is rightly regarded as one of the finest pages of the SH. However, the author of these pages is not concerned with extolling the gallant treatment by Činggis Qan of a defeated enemy of high standing with whom he had special ties, for such generosity could hardly be reconciled with the Mongol ethos requiring ruthless retribution in cases of betrayal of trust and challenge to authority. The aim of this literary 'piece' is to illustrate Činggis' respect for the oath of friendship, sealed in blood twice, hence sacred, that he had made with J̌amuqa. Činggis is not generous, he is strictly legal, respecting at the same time the omens and giving J̌amuqa the benefit of the doubt with regard to his murderous intentions towards him – all on the strength of their *sworn* friendship. It is, in the end, J̌amuqa himself who, recognizing his failings, chooses to die and thereby relieves his *anda* of any culpability in the execution, which is carried out according to the traditional custom in such cases. The literary embellishments are devised to carry the message more forcibly and to enhance its effect for future generations. But the author is almost certainly rewriting

history for ideological reasons. The more sober and reliable account of the Mongol chronicle utilized by Rašīd al-Dīn informs us on the different fate of Činggis' *anda*. According to the Persian historian, J̌amuqa was delivered to Činggis Qan by sixty of his followers, whereupon Činggis had thirty of them, i.e. the ringleaders, executed for the betrayal of their chief. Since Činggis could not himself kill his *anda*, he gave him, together with the remaining *nököt* and all his possessions, to Elǰīdei Noyan (i.e. Elǰigidei Noyan, the son of Qači'un and nephew of Činggis Qan) who, soon after and undoubtedly with Činggis' assent – as indeed confirmed by Rašīd in another passage – had him cruelly executed by hacking him to pieces. The only possible 'embellishment' in this account is the almost enthusiastic acceptance of his fate on the part of J̌amuqa, who apparently encouraged the executioner in his gruesome task saying that he would have done the same with his enemies if he had captured them. See SL[2], I/1, 191-192, I/2, 277 (the '227' in ČK[2], 245, n. 195, is a misprint); D'Ohsson, I, 91-92; EM, 178-179. Cf. Li, 169, n. 201. Rašīd's account is obviously more reliable insofar as it supplies the information regarding Elǰīdei Noyan and the fact that J̌amuqa's companions, who eventually betrayed him, were not five but (more realistically) sixty, with tents and possessions. A point worth noting is that in both accounts it is stated that Činggis could not himself kill his sworn friend. The solution presented by the second account is more in conformity with what we would expect from Činggis Qan in the circumstances. No date is given for this event, but since it occurred soon after the defeat of the Naiman and Merkit tribes and just before the 1206 *qurilta*, it must be placed sometime in 1205. Unfortunately, it is not mentioned either in the SWCCL, or in the YS.

For an evaluation of J̌amuqa's death as seen from different historical perspectives, cf. Lattimore 1978, 135-138; ČK[1], 80-81 (= ČK[2], 87-88, 245, nn. 191-196); ČQT, I, 301-304; ČXC, 90-104.

§ 202. 'The people of the felt-walled tents' (*sisgei to'urqatu ulus*), i.e. all the nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoral people of Mongolia who lived in yurts (*ger*), to distinguish them from the forest hunting tribes of the north and the north-west, the so-called People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*), on which see below. For the special reference to 'felt' (*sisgei*, cf. above, n. 124), see CEME, 51-52. For the term *ulus* 'people/tribe' → 'patrimony' → 'domain, dominion, nation/state, empire', see above, nn. 53, 64, 121; Vlad.[2], 124 et passim; TQUEMC, 36ff.; Buell 1980, 44ff.; MEYD, 9-11; Bira 1996a, 131.

'When … had been brought to allegiance', lit. 'Making straight (= right, i.e. loyal)' (*šidurqutqaǰu*). For the verb *šidurqutqa-* (= mo. *siduryudqa-*) 'to cause to be straight (= loyal)', i.e. 'to bring under submission', cf. the sectional summary (Y[2] 8, 27a): 'having submitted (*or* subdued)' (既 … 收捕了).

The great assembly (*qurilta*) of the Year of the Tiger 1206 is one of the most important events in the life of Činggis Qan. The place chosen for this momentous occasion was ground consecrated by tradition – holy ground, as it were – for it was at the very sources of the great river Onon, on Mount Burqan Qaldun, that the mythical blue-grey wolf (*börte činō*) and fallow doe (*qo'ai maral*) had settled after crossing the Tenggis/Baikal, thus beginning the line from which originated all the Mongol clans as told in § 1 of the SH. Later, in Činggis' own lifetime, Burqan Qaldun continued to play an important role in protecting him (see §§ 100-103), and it was on its slopes that he was eventually buried by his express will (see below, n. 268). The exact area where the *qurilta* was held cannot be positively identified, but in view of the great number of people that must have gathered there on this and subsequent occasions with all their tents, carts, etc., it must be a valley in the proximity and east of Khentei Khan in the Great Khentei Range, possibly in the same area of the locality called Botoqan Bo'orǰi in §§ 106 and 108. The Chinese sources confirm that the place in question was 'at the sources of the Onan River.' See YS[2] 1, 13; SWCCL[1], 57a. It should be noted that our text does not refer to the gathering of

1206 as a *qurilta*, a term that appears only once (in § 282). However, Rašīd al-Dīn employs the term *quriltai* (a variant of *qurilta*) for this occasion. See SL^2, I/2, 150. The same Chinese sources use the expression *ta-hui* 大會 'to hold a great assembly' which corresponds to Mongolian *yeke qurilta quri-*. For the term *qurilta(i)* and for this important institution, see below, n. 282.

'The white standard with nine tails' (*yisün költü čaqa'an tuq*). The tails or streamers, lit. 'feet' (*köl*), were either yak- or horse-tails, and the fact that there were nine has a symbolic meaning (see above, n. 60). This was the standard of Činggis Qan and the paramount symbol of his power. Cf. above, nn. 63, 73 and 193. See also CEME, 59. (Incidentally, the Mongol standard – given, however, as blue in colour instead of white – provided the title for Léon Cahun's famous novel *La bannière bleue; aventures d'un musulman, d'un chrétien et d'un païen à l'époque des croisades et de la conquête mongole*, Paris, 1877. This book was one of the first, if not the first, books of this kind to be translated from a European language into Mongolian. The translation was made by the leading Buriat scholar C.Ž. Žamcarano [1880-1937] who published it under the title of *Köke Mongγol-un köke tuγ* [*The Blue Standard of the Blue Mongols*]. See R.A. Rupen in *HJAS* 19:1956, 142, no. 23. Cf. Haining 1999, 338-339.) As noted earlier, for the Mongols, as for other Altaic people, white was the auspicious colour. See above, nn. 63, 111. Both white as a lucky colour and nine as a symbolic number are mentioned by Marco Polo in *The Description of the World*. See MP^2, I, 222-223. Cf. also the SH, §§ 216, 219, 239, 245 and 267.

'They gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*.' As stated earlier (see the discussion in n. 123 above), it seems that the great assembly of 1206 sanctioned Činggis Qan's leadership as *qan* of all 'the people of the felt-walled tents', conferring on him at the same time the epithet of Činggis, meaning 'Fierce', which became in effect his name. (For the titles of *qa'an* and *qan* in the context of the 1202 election, cf. Kałużyński 1978, 128, but

qa'an should not be taken into account since the original text of the SH had *qan* instead.) It was, therefore, a solemn consecration of a dignity that had been conferred on him several years before but which now, for the first time, was recognized by all the Mongolian and Turco-Mongolian tribes that 'had been brought to allegiance', i.e. that had been conquered and brought into submission. It is reasonable to assume that from this time on the new confederation was known as *Yeke Mongqol Ulus*, or The Great Mongol Nation (*or* The Nation of the Great Mongols according to other investigators), although no statement to this effect is found in the SH. We know that when Činggis later came in contact with north China, the Chinese called his tribal confederation *Ta Meng-ku kuo* 大蒙古國 'The Great Mongol Nation' (*or* 'The Nation of the Great Mongols'), shortened to *Ta Meng-ku* 'The Great Mongols' (cf. 'The Great Mogul[s]'), which is unquestionably the Chinese counterpart of the Mongolian *Yeke Mongqol*, which is itself extrapolated from *Yeke Mongqol Ulus*; in other words, the members of the ruling ethnic group, the Mongols, became known as 'The Great Mongols.' Cf. 'Trois documents', 486-487; de Rachewiltz 1993, 94, n. 20; idem 1994, 374ff.; CEME, 18-19; and above, n. 52, also for further references. For the other early Chinese designation of the Mongol 'state' (employed by defectors from north China at the Mongol court, and also found on some coins), viz. *Ta Ch'ao* 大朝, or 'The Great Court', cf. Hsiao CC 1985, and Whaley 2001. Another possible explanation for the genesis of the designation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* for the nation, then empire, established by Činggis Qan, and one which I tend to favour at present, is the following. In view of the fact that there is no evidence that Činggis named his confederation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* in 1206, and that at the end of the present section this is still simply called *Mongqol ulus* 'the Mongol people (ch. *pai-hsing* 百姓)', it seems likely that the designation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* is merely a calque of ch. *Ta Chin kuo* 大金國, 'The Great Chin Nation', the regular name of the Jurchen/Chin

state, and that the Mongols adopted it after 1210 as they adopted several other titles and designations of Chinese origin from the Jurchen. *Ta Meng-ku/Yeke Mongqol* would then be formed in the same way as *Ta Chin* 大金, used for *Ta Chin kuo*, and designating the Jurchen nation and dynasty, as well as its people. This is, indeed, specifically stated in the HTSL. See 'Trois documents', 487; CG, 87. Cf. CG, 17, for an earlier statement to the same effect in the MTPL. For other relevant comments on the 1206 *qurilta*, and on the origin and creation of the Mongolian state, see FTC, 20-22; Khazanov 1980; Kitagawa 1984; Sárközi 1993, 217; Dmitriev 1994; Bira 1996; and, especially, ČK[1], 82-87 (= ČK[2], 89-96). For the (supposed) key role played by the so-called shaman Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (on whom see §§ 244-246) in both the election of Činggis Qan and the conferment of his title, see above, n. 123; EM, 181, 204; ČK[1], 38, 88-89 (= ČK[2], 41, 96ff.); Kitagawa 1984, 48ff., 66-67. It should be emphasized that the SH totally ignores Kököčü's role in either the election or the conferment of the title. The year 1206 is, therefore, recognized by later historiography as the year of the enthronement of Činggis Qan, an event which has been variously interpreted by historians from the Yüan dynasty on until modern and contemporary times, in China, Mongolia and in the West. Besides H. Franke's fundamental study (FCT), see Khan 1995; de Rachewiltz 1996; and Haining 1999. For the title or, rather, epithet and name 'Činggis Qan', see above, n. 123.

'Then they also (*gü*) gave the title of *gui ong* to Muqali.' For the particle *gü* meaning 'also', see above, n. 117. *Gui ong* is the Mongolian transcription of the well-known Chinese title *kuo-wang* 國王 or Prince of State. On this title and its transcription, see DOTIC, 300, n. 3548; GCUMR, 18; Mostaert 1935, 332-333; HCG, 363; Cleaves 1949, 96, n. 13; TMEN, nos. 355 and 623 (*ong*); and above, n. 96. We know from reliable sources that the title of *gui ong* was conferred on Muqali (one of the 'four steeds', see above, n. 137) in 1217/18 (between 3 September and 2 October 1217 according to YS[2] 1, 19, or between 30

January and 28 February 1218 according to SL[2], I/2, 178; also in 1218 according to the SWCCL[1], 72b), i.e. exactly one twelve-year cycle after the 1206 *quriltą*. This type of error is a very common one – both 1206 and 1218 are years of the Tiger (*bars ǰil*) – and it was in 1206 that Činggis restructured the army and made many new appointments. It *may* also have been an intentional mistake in order to anticipate the conferment of this honour and make it coincide with the year of the great *qurilta*, but since this item of information is followed by the entry on J̌ebe's mission against Güčülük which likewise took place in 1218, the error must be a genuine one. As suggested by Pelliot (HCG, 362), the exalted title of *gui ong/kuo-wang*, officially conferred on Muqali on his return to Mongolia after several years' campaigning in China, may have reflected the designation of Viceroy (權皇帝) which had been given to him by the people of north China, or by which he was already known there – a fact confirmed by a contemporary Chinese source (the MTPL). What Činggis Qan did in 1217/18 was then to formalize the dignity and make it hereditary. Cf. below, n. 206.

'J̌ebe was sent on a war mission.' For the verb *ča'ura-* 'to go on a campaign', cf. Mo, 181. For J̌ebe's campaign against Güčülük of the Naiman, last met in § 198, and the latter's end, see § 237 and com.

'Having *thus* completed *the task of* setting the Mongol people in order', lit. 'Having finished setting in order (*ǰibšiye-* [= *ǰibši'e-*], i.e. pacifying) the Mongol people (*Mongqolǰin ulus*).' For the form *Mongqolǰin* (= pmo. *Mongγolǰin*) 'Mongol', which is comparatively rare as a synonym for *Mongqol* (= pmo., mo. *Mongγol*), see the important remarks in 'Trois documents', 462 and n. 49, as well as Cleaves 1954, 122, n. 314; YSLC, 420 and n. 1; DO, 467a. For *-y- ~ -'-*, cf. below, n. 204.

'I shall express my appreciation', lit. 'I shall speak words of favour' (*soyurqal üge ügülesü*). For the various connotations of the term *soyurqal*, see above, n. 147.

The redistribution and reorganisation of the Mongol population for military purposes into ninety-five units, each

capable of supplying in wartime a force of approximately one thousand men (*minqat* = *mingqat*) led by a commander of a thousand (*minqan-u* [= *mingqan-u*] *noyan*), is the first major change decreed by Činggis at the *qurilta*. For a significant restructuring of the army prior to the final confrontation with the Naiman in 1204, see above §§ 191-192. The establishment of the ninety-five units of a thousand in 1206 is a continuation and extension of military reforms undertaken at various times by Činggis Qan, which include the creation of the three units of ten thousand (*qurban tümet*) formed from his thirteen camps (*harban qurban güre'et*) described in § 129, and even earlier changes in the military organization (see §§ 104 and 121). Cf. above, nn. 129 and 191. The SH lists the ninety-five units with the names of their eighty-eight leaders. The commanders of a thousand are not ninety-five because Alči Güregen was in charge of three Onggirat units (nos. 86, 87, 88), Butu Güregen of two Ikires units (nos. 89, 90), and Alaquš Digit Quri of five Önggüt units (nos. 91, 92, 93, 94, 95). Thus, the statement at the end of § 202 that the leaders appointed by Činggis were ninety-five is incorrect. The importance of these military units calls for a detailed investigation. See, provisionally, the valuable contributions of M. Honda in MJK, 17-52 (cf. *THG* 4, 6:1952, 1-12; *SZ* 62, 8:Aug. 1953, 1-26; *RK*, 9, 7:July 1961, 10-18; and PICO XXIII, 255-256); YCS, I, 83-87; *YSPFCK* 9:1985, 24-30; Munkuev 1977, 394; MEYD, 9-11; Fletcher 1986, 29-30. The units of a thousand as listed by Rašīd al-Dīn are found in SL^2, I/2, 266-274. Cf. TDU, 446-455; and, for comparative purposes (SH and SL), the tabulation in MJK, 34-40.

Regarding the commanders of a thousand listed in this section, many, as we would expect, are Činggis' famous *nököt* we already met, such as Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, J̌elme, Qubilai (of the Barulas), etc.; all the others are also known from the Chinese and Persian sources. Important biographical and miscellaneous notes on them can be found in Na^2, 272-285, and Mu, II, 348-392. The following are additional remarks on some of the individual leaders and their names: (1) Father Mönglik

(Mönglik Ečige): for his appointment see also Hambis 1975, 26; (7) Qunan: see on this commander the remarks in n. 210 below; (12) Tolon: for this name, cf. DO, 666b; (19) Qorqosun: cf. Bese 1974, 92, and SH, § 243 (Qorqasun); (20) Hüsün: cf. MWESC, 40, 5a [P.P.-C.R.A.C.]; (23) J̌etei ~ J̌edei, see § 120; (26) Alaq (= Alaγ): cf. Cleaves 1956, 203 and n. 7; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; (28) Buluqan (= Buluγan) [Qalǰa] of the Barulas, and (29) Qaračar, Buluqan's cousin and Tamerlane's ancestor, cf. Grupper 1992/94, passim; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Buluqan'; (34) Güčügür = Küčügür, Degei's brother, see §§ 120, 124; (37) Dayir, i.e. Dayir Ba'adur, on whom see Aubin J 1969, 70-71, 79; (39) Buǰir: cf. Cleaves 1954b, 432-433 and n. 11, and ISK, 760a-b (Index); (41) Dolo'adai: 'cf. Doloqadai, Dolongirtai' [P.P.-C.R.A.C.], and Poppe 1975, 162; (49) Udutai: cf. HCG, 274: 'Le Udutai de l'*Histoire secrète*, § 202, est peut-être *Udūtai, et peut représenter l'ethnique tiré du nom des Uduyit.' F.W. Cleaves differs and writes (u.n.): 'It is highly unlikely, in my opinion, that *Udutai* can be related etymologically to *Uduyid*, for which the ethnic derivative in *-ai* would be **Uduyidai*, not *Udutai*. In *Utudai ~ Udutai* we have rather a derivative in *-dai ~ -tai* of the word *utu ~ *udu*, which Kowalewski (1.384a) defines: "les deux bouts, les derniers rangs de chasseurs qui ont fait le cercle." Cf. also Pelliot et Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, p. 144 § 4: "extrémités des lignes de rabbateurs." The name would, in effect, mean "Having [the Station of] an Extremity [of the Circle]", in other words "The Man who is Stationed at an Extremity of the Circle." Cf. the English "end-man."'; (54) Qurčaqus = Cyriacus – a Nestorian Christian, see above, n. 150; (55) Geügi: 'cf. J̌anggi (corriger) et cf. T'ou Ki [= MWESC] 40, 9a' [P.P.-C.R.A.C.] – for J̌anggi see § 277; (59) Ča'urqai: cf. Bese 1974, 93, and below, n. 243; (62) Megetü: cf. ibid., 92; (70) Qa'uran: cf. Ligeti 1972, 9; (71) Alči: cf. Li, 170, n. 202, and Pelliot 1935, 913; (75) Aǰinai for Ačinai: cf. Bese 1978, 355, no. 2; (79) Olar Güregen, (81) Buqa Güregen, (83) Ašiq Güregen, (84) Qadai Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86) Alči

Güregen, (89) Butu Güregen, and (91) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen, these eight commanders were all sons-in-law (*güregen*, pl. *güreget*) of Činggis Qan. For (85) Čigü Güregen, see § 251 and com. For (86) Alči Güregen, cf. Li, 170, n. 202, and Pelliot 1935, 913. On the name (89) Butu ~ Botu, cf. Bese, op. cit., 361-362, no. 11, and above, n. 120. As to Činggis Qan's daughters who married the above-mentioned commanders of a thousand, we know from Rašīd al-Dīn that (79) Olar ~ Ular of the Olqunu'ut was the father of Taiču Güregen (Mother Hö'elün's brother, also called Ča'ur Sečen; for the name Ča'ur, see above, n. 165) who married Činggis' fifth and favourite daughter (from his wife Börte) Altalun or Altalunqan (dim. and endear. in *-qan*), but one wonders whether Altalun may have been Olar's wife before marrying Taiču upon the former's death if the latter was born from another wife of Olar's. See SL^2, I/1, 164; I/2, 70. Cf. below, the case of Alaquš Digit Quri and J̌inguê; (80) Kinggiyadai, likewise of the Olqunu'ut (see § 120), is also called a *güregen* in Mu, II, 343, but there is no justification for it: he is simply designated as *noyan* in SL^2, I/2, 268; (85) Čigü of the Onggirat married Činggis' fourth daughter Tümelün. See ibid., 273. Cf. Pelliot 1935, 914-915; (89) Butu ~ Botu of the Ikires married Činggis' eldest daughter Qoǰin (*or* Qočin) Beki (*or* Begi), on whom cf. § 165. See SL^2, I/2, 70, 271. From the SH, § 239, we know that Alaqa Beki (Rašīd's Alaqai Begi, Činggis' third daughter also from his wife Börte) was given in marriage 'to the Önggüt', i.e. to the ruler of the Önggüt. This was not our Alaquš Digit Quri but his nephew J̌inguê; however, it is quite likely that Alaqa(i)'s first husband was Alaquš, and that he married J̌inguê after the latter's death ca. 1211. See RCAC, 262-267, and below, n. 239. As for (82) Quril, of the Tayiči'ut, there is also no justification for making him a *güregen* as in Mu, loc. cit. See SL^2, I/1, 182; I/2, 288a (Index). Besides the five daughters borne by Börte, Činggis had other children from his secondary wives, including daughters, and this accounts for his numerous sons-in-law; however, most of their names are not known. See ibid., I/2, 71-73, where seven

daughters in all are named; this number agrees with that given in MTPL, 6b (cf. CG, 24), but we know of the existence of another daughter, called Čečeyigen, from the SH, § 239 (his daughter Al Altun mentioned in § 238 is included among the seven tabled by Rašīd al-Dīn in SL^2, I/2, 73). The names of some of the remaining daughters may still be found in Chinese and Persian sources which have not yet been fully investigated. Besides the additional references given above, several other commanders of a thousand are mentioned at various times in the SH, often with their names spelled somewhat differently. See, in particular, § 243 and com.

'Excluding (lit. "apart from") the People of the Forest', i.e. the total of the units of a thousand established on that occasion did not include any made up with units from the northern tribes known collectively as the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) for the simple reason that these tribes had not yet been brought under submission. On them see below, nn. 207 and 239.

The reorganization of the army with the establishment of the ninety-five units of a thousand and the Guard in 1206 provided the blueprint for the military-structured government of the Mongolian empire in the making. As rightly pointed out by B. F. Manz, Činggis Qan's career 'brought profound and lasting changes to the steppes of Eurasia. What determined his importance in history was not his military prowess as his great administrative ability and his astute use of steppe traditions' (RRT, 3). The appointment of the commanders (*noyat*) of a thousand fulfilled the essential function of rewarding his erstwhile companions and supporters with appropriate offices, authority and privileges, thus ensuring their continuing allegiance and total dedication to his cause and that of his clan. As noted by Ligeti, recording the names of the privileged ones 'favoured' by Činggis Qan guaranteed the extension of these privileges to their descendants who, in time, became the influential families and the ruling class of the empire – the list of commanders of a thousand could be regarded as a roll-call of

honours for the use of their illustrious posterity. See Li, 170, n. 202. Cf. also below, n. 224.

§ **203**. 'Together with the sons-in-law', i.e. including the sons-in-law. Clearly, Činggis wants not only to emphasize the participation of his own sons-in-law in the leadership of the military units, but also the fact that these ninety-five units were made up with the inclusion of the sons-in-law, several of whom commanded more than one unit. See above, n. 202. The rendering 'un jour qu'il était avec ses gendres' in Ev-Pop, 171, is incorrect. Cf. the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 8, 32a): 'Činggis said, "These sons-in-law, together with the ninety-five commanders of a thousand, ..."' See also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 32 (where, however, 'ninety-five thousand chiliarchs' should read 'captains of the ninety-five thousands'). Cf. Mo, 184.

'And he said (lit. "when he said") that the commanders having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come', i.e. they should enter Činggis Qan's tent.

Šigi Qutuqu is the sixteenth commander listed in § 202. In §§ 135 and 138 it is related how he was found as a little boy in the pillaged Tatar (not Merkit as in Ra, VIII, 47, n. 203) camp and how he was adopted by Mother Hö'elün – a recurring 'adoption theme' in the SH. There he is called Šikiken (= Šigiken) Quduqu (= Qutuqu), Šigiken being the diminutive and endearment form of Šigi. See above, n. 135. He rose to be one of the highest officials in the Mongol government and the one who supervised the census of north China in 1234-1236 in his capacity of (*yeke*) *ǰarquči* (= mo. *ǰarγuči*), i.e. grand or supreme judge. See ibid., and below; de Rachewiltz 1960, 376-380, n. 215; KIPMX, 77-78, 193.

'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others?', lit. 'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than whom?'

'If you want to give rewards ... lesser service?', lit. 'As to be given favours (= rewards), in does not matter what (*ya'un*), I was not lacking in *giving* assistance, in does not matter what, I

was not lacking in giving service.' Here *ya'un* 'what?' = 'en n'importe quoi' [A.M.]. The verbal forms in *-la'a/-le'e* (*bolula'a*, *ögüle'e*) indicate certainty, hence my insertion of the word 'surely.'

'At your noble threshold', lit. 'at your high (*ündür*) threshold.'

'Until this beard sprouted on my chin', lit. 'Until this much (*edüi*) beard *as I now have* grew on *my* chin.'

'From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch', i.e. from infancy, but Onon's interpretation (On, 112 and n. 269 [cf. the 2001 ed., 192], following TH, 246) as 'incontinence at the crotch' is not justified. Cf. Cl, 143, n. 59.

'At your royal threshold', lit. 'at your golden (*altan*) threshold.' For *altan* 'golden' = 'royal', see above, n. 21. Both the 'high threshold' and the 'golden threshold' are a synecdoche for the *qan*'s tent. See above, n. 137.

'And brought me up as her own son' (*kö'üčilen ösgebe*). For *kö'üčile-* (= mo. *köbegüčile-*) 'to treat or adopt as a son', cf. DO, 441a.

'And brought me up as the younger brother *of her children*.' Cf. § 135: 'The Mother ... brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child.' Cl, 143; On, 112; and Oz[1], V, 110 (cf. Oz[2], II, 63) understand instead 'as your younger brother.'

'My sixth younger brother.' Činggis Qan had three brothers (Qasar, Qači'un and Temüge), one sister (Temülün), and two half-brothers (Bekter and Belgütei), the eldest of whom, Bekter, had been killed by Činggis and Qasar while still a boy (§§ 60, 77). Thus, Činggis had altogether five brothers, all younger than himself.

'To you, my late-born younger brother' (*oroču de'ü-de'en čimada*). The term *oroču*, although disappeared from the later literary language, has survived in the dialects. Cf. ord. *oro'tš'o* 'né après le temps normal, tardillon (bétail)' (DO, 522a). To render *oroču de'ü* as 'Adoptivsohn' as in Ratchnevsky 1987, 74, is not correct.

With regard to Činggis Qan's position vis-à-vis Šigi Qutuqu, a different tradition is recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn who, in his work (SL^2, I/1, 107; I/2, 269) says that Šigi Qutuqu was adopted on Činggis Qan's order by Börte, who at that time had no children of her own. Therefore, Šigi Qutuqu used to call Činggis Qan 'father' (*ečige*) and Börte 'first mother' (*teri'ün eke*); Činggis called him his 'fifth son' and Ögödei his 'senior brother.' Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 89-92; ISK, 75-76. Ratchnevsky is of the opinion that Rašīd al-Dīn's version is more reliable than the SH account (as is often the case).

'You shall be allotted the *same* share as (lit. "of") the younger brothers' (*de'ü-ner-ün qubi-yiyar qubilaldu*), i.e. in the division of the war booty and distribution of the conquered people. The sentence ending with an imperative of the second person singular (*qubilaldu* 'share with each other!') is rather awkward in Mongolian, and the text has therefore been variously amended: Cl, 143, n. 61, suggests *qubilaldutuγai* 'let one part'; Oz^1, V, 106, writes *qubilaldud* 'share!' (see ibid., 114, n. 9); Γa, 130, writes *qubilaldusu* 'let me share!'; etc. I think the imperative form *qubilaldu* can be retained. Cf. Ir, 192; El-Ar, 675, and 678-679, n. 15; Ba, II, 949. For the important term *qubi* 'share, part, allotment', and its usage at the time, see the literature cited above, n. 23.

'You shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes' (*yisün aldal-tur bu aldatuqai*), lit. 'you shall not be(come) culpable (*or* punishable) for nine crimes (i.e. breaches of the *ǰasaq*).' The basic meaning of the verb *alda-* is 'to miss, fail, omit, lose' → 'to commit a fault, error or transgression, i.e. a crime', hence 'to be(come) culpable' and therefore also 'to be(come) punishable.' In legal terminology, the deverbal noun *aldal* 'omission' means 'punishable act, crime'; the adjectives *aldaltai*, *aldaltan* 'guilty, culpable', hence 'punishable'; and the factitive verb *alda'ul-* (= mo. *aldaγul-*), lit. 'to cause to lose; to remove' (cf. § 145) = 'to punish.' See CY, I, 20, n. 2, 21, n. 1; the discussion in Ra, VIII, 48-49; and de Rachewiltz 1981, 56-60. Cf. also below, the remarks on the expression *aldaltan boltuqai*. To be exempted

from punishment for up to nine transgressions of the *ǰasaq* was at that time a privilege enjoyed by a small number of men, such as the *darqat* (pl. of *darqan*) or 'freemen', who had performed outstanding services, usually in protecting or saving the life of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 51. For 'nine' as a symbolic number, see above, n. 60. Cf. Bese 1987, 47.

'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under *my* sway', lit. 'When, being protected by Eternal Heaven, I am rectifying (i.e. conquering) the entire people.' Cf. § 187: 'Under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne'; and § 201: 'You have pacified all *our* people,/You have unified all other peoples, and the *qan*'s throne has been assigned to you. ... Because of this I was excelled by *my* sworn friend, whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven.' As already noted, the theme of protection from Eternal Heaven, or Heaven Above, runs through the fabric of the SH. Cf. also §§ 256 and 265; and de Rachewiltz 1973. The verb *ǰükle-* (= mo. *ǰügle-* 'to head for, strive after'), rendered here as 'to bring order', is glossed in Chinese as *cheng* 正 'to regulate, rectify', and is interpreted as *ting* 定 'to fix, settle' in the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 32b). The real meaning is 'to conquer, subject.' See Cl, 143, n. 62. Cf. the verbs *šidurqutqa-* 'to make straight (= right),' i.e. 'to bring under submission', and *ǰibši'e-*, *ǰibšiye-* 'to set in order', i.e. 'to pacify', in § 202, etc. (HW, 139, 89).

To be 'Eyes to see with,/Ears to hear with' is, as noted earlier (n. 138), a set phrase or idiom describing a person who performs important services and delicate missions, and one, therefore, appropriate for a trustworthy personal assistant. This idiom is applied again to Šigi Qutuqu in § 252.

'According to the name of the people', i.e. the grant or reward (*soyurqal*) would consist of apportioning (*qubi qubila-*) the subject people (*irgen*) among Činggis' family by dividing them according to their importance (*nere* 'name' = 'fame, renown') and suitability as nomadic tribes or settled populations,

as evident from the next sentence, so that the most important groups (from the point of view of exploitation) would be allotted to the more exalted members of the ruling family.

'Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,/Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors', i.e. the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes living in yurts (see § 202), as well as the sedentary people living in houses with doors, lit. 'having wood-board doors' (*qabdasun e'üdeten*). For *qabdasun ~ qabtasun* 'wooden board', cf. above, n. 112. The verb *iriče'ül-*, 'to cause to separate, break up', is the factitive of *iriče- ~ hiriče- ~ hiriǰe-* 'to part, separate (from)'. See above, n. 123.

'Let no one disobey your word!' (*ken ber činu üge busi bu bolqatuqai*), lit. 'Let not anyone cause your word (= order) to be otherwise!' For this and similar formulaic warnings against transgressing a court order or decree, cf. Cleaves 1953, 79, n. 10; 'Trois documents', 464. See also below the remarks on the expression *aldaltan boltuqai*.

'He entrusted Šigi Qutuqu with *the power of* judgement over all' (*gür de'ere-yin ǰarqu tüsibe*), i.e. he appointed him as judge or arbitrator, in Mongolian *ǰarquči* (= mo. *ǰarγuči*, a den. noun in *-či* from *ǰarqu* [= mo. *ǰarγu*] 'judgement, arbitration'), later elevated to *yeke ǰarquči*, i.e. grand judge. For the term *ǰarqu* and the title and office of *ǰarquči*, cf. TMEN, no. 1784; MKSLT, I, 233-263; YSLC, 129-137; Ratchnevsky 1965, 108-109 and n. 96; ČK[1], 87; CY, I, vii, et passim (see ibid., *Index*, 131); Ratchnevsky 1987, 101ff.; ISK, 777a-b (Index). The first *ǰarquči* was Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, whose appointment 'to judge litigations and those who are guilty of theft and falsehood (lit. "who have *committed* theft and deceitful deeds")' (*kere'ür-i qulaqai qudal üyileten-i ǰarqula-*) is recorded in § 154. See above, n. 154 (*ǰarqula-* [= mo. *ǰarγula-*] 'to judge, arbitrate' is a den. verb in *-la* from *ǰarqu*). The crimes of robbery and lying are again specified in the present appointment of Šigi Qutuqu: 'Curbing theft,/Discouraging falsehood' (*qulaqai-yi kese'eǰü/qudal-i moqa'aǰu*). For *kese'e-* (= mo. *kesege-*) 'to

repress, check', and *moqa'a-* (= mo. *moqoγa-*) 'to dull, weaken', cf. 'Trois documents', 464; Gantogtox 1990, 126.

'Execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment', lit. 'execute those for whom it is proper (i.e. according to the law/*ǰasaq*) that they be executed, punish those for whom it is proper that they be punished.' For *alda'ul-* 'to punish', see above.

With regard to the passage in which Činggis entrusts Šigi Qutuqu with the duties of keeping the population registers, essential for the distribution of subjects among the ruling family, the court nobility and the military leaders, and the recording of judgements to serve as precedents in law proceedings, the Mongol text is not very clear. In the sentence *basa gür irgen-ü qubi qubilaqsan-i ǰarqu ǰarqulaqsan-i kökö debter bičik bičiǰü debterleǰü*, the verb *debterle-* – a denominal verb from *debter* 'book, register' – may mean 'to make or compile a register' = 'to register', rather than 'to make into a register' = 'to bind in book or register form', which is its current meaning, since this verb is glossed in Chinese as *tsao-ts'e* 造冊, which normally means the former. See, e.g., KitRS, II, 348a; CED, 987a; NPCED, 1102c. Also, in view of the fact that the sentence that follows speaks of *kökö bičik* 'blue writing', and not of *kökö debter* 'blue register(s)', I wonder whether the original recension of the SH may not have had the word *debter* before *debterleǰü*, i.e. *kökö bičik bičiǰü debter debterleǰü* instead of *kökö debter bičik bičiǰü debterleǰü*. This hypothesis is to some extent supported also by the particular construction of the sentence in which, after *irgen-ü*, each noun is followed by the corresponding verb (*qubi qubila-*, *ǰarqu ǰarqula-*, *bičik biči-*), so that we would expect also *debter debterle-* 'to register a register' = 'to compile a register.' Later on, as we know, these important population records were actually called *köke* (= *kökö*) *debter*, but this may not have been the case at such an early date as 1206. Their existence and widespread use in the later Yüan period may have been responsible for a transposition of the word *debter* after *kökö* by a copyist or editor; however, this cannot be conclusively

proved. On the *köke debter* and the use of blue ink in certain documents, see Pelliot 1930b, 38-42, where the relevant passage in the SH is also discussed (p. 40). In my translation I have followed his interpretation. See also Liu MS 1947; Ratchnevsky 1965, 97 and nn. 37, 38; idem 1974, 479 and n. 42; ČK[1], 87 (= ČK[2], 95); TQUEMC, 39-40; ISK, 79, 80, 94, 154-155; MNTS, 220-235. In this section of the SH there is a mention of 'script, writing' (*bičik*, mo. *bičig*), and in the colophon (§ 282) of 'to write' (*biči-*), but just as there is no occurrence of the word *ǰarquči* 'judge', so is there no reference to a scribe (*bičēči* < *bičigeči*), although individuals with a knowledge of writing, i.e. of the Uighur script, such as the famous Činqqai, the Uighur T'a-t'a T'ung-a and the Kereyit Šira Oqul were already with Činggis Qan in 1206. Šigi Qutuqu too was apparently literate, but we do not know when and in what circumstances he learned to write. Činggis Qan was well aware of the importance of literacy in administering the new state, hence not only the recruitment of scholar-officials from north China (especially people of sinicized Kitan and Jurchen background) after 1210, and, of course, of educated Central Asians, but also the appointment of a tutor for his own son Ögödei for the special purpose of teaching him the script. These early scribe-secretaries played a capital role in the formation and administration of the Mongol empire and much has been written about them. See de Rachewiltz 1960, passim; idem 1966, 100ff.; MKSLT, I, 365-463; YSLC, 137-141; ISK, 759b (Index, s.v. '*bičēči*'). Cf. also TQUEMC, 34 et passim; K. Katayama in *MK* 17:1986, 51-66; and T. Sakamoto cited in *AA* 24:1973, 114. (On Činqqai, T'a-t'a T'ung-a and Šigi Qutuqu, cf. also Section Three of the Introduction; for Šira Oqul [= Oγul], cf. de Rachewiltz 1966, 101 and n. 2.) It is therefore possible and indeed likely, in my opinion, that the actual writing in the 'blue registers' was done for Šigi Qutuqu by *bičēči*s under his supervision. It has been suggested, and it is reasonable to assume, that the registers in question may also have been used to record Činggis Qan's *ǰasaq* if these laws were set down in writing;

however, this cannot be established since it is not clear what exactly is meant by the 'decisions about judicial matters' (*ǰarqu ǰarqulaqsan*), and some scholars are of the opinion that they may have had nothing to do with the *ǰasaq*. See de Rachewiltz 1993, 98-99. Cf. ĖBČIZ, 7. For the term *bičig* 'script, writing' (< tu. *bitig* id.), and other terms related to writing, see TMEN, no. 717; Róna-Tas 1965, 126ff.; Cleaves 1988, 161, n. 37; and RH, 309, no. 6 (where, however, *bičik* should be rendered as 'writing' rather than 'book').

'Anyone (lit. "the people") who alters it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*' (*ye'ütkekün haran aldaltan boltuqai*). Similarly worded formulas (e.g. with 'who transgresses [the order]' instead of 'who alters it'; cf. § 224) are regularly found at the end of ordinances and decrees issued by the Mongol authorities in the 13th and 14th centuries in Mongolian (in Uighur and 'Phags-pa scripts), in the Chinese versions of the original Mongol documents, and in other languages. In the words *aldaltan boltuqai*, lit. 'they shall be ones having *committed* a crime (= being guilty)', it is implied that 'to be guilty' = 'to be punishable', and that, within the strict regime of the *ǰasaq*, the guilty party shall incur capital punishment for such an offence. See Mo, 147-148, n. 144; Ligeti 1971, 148; MMḤS, 102, Note 70; Cleaves 1961, 65, 67, n. 25, 69-73. Cf. also MMḤS, 98-99, Note 62 (with regard to the use of the word *haran*); and above, what has been said about the verb *alda-*.

'If the Qa'an *wants to* reward me, let him decide in favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *pounded* earth', lit. 'If the Qa'an favours (= rewards) me, let his favour decide on giving me from the towns with walls of *pounded* earth.' That it is actually the people from the towns that are meant is clearly stated in the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 33a), a fact which cannot be ignored. 'The towns that have walls of *pounded* earth' renders *širo'ai yo'urqatu balaqasun*. *Širo'ai* = mo. *siroγa*, *siroγai*, *siroi* 'earth.' Cf. RH, 248, no. 17: *široa* 'dust.' For *yo'urqa* '(earth- or mud-)wall', cf. HIIY *yoqurqa* (= pmo. *yoγurγa*) 'wall.' See *Matériel I*, 111; Cleaves

1949, 112, n. 95; and TMEN, no. 409. The word *balaqasun* (= pmo. *balaγasun*) 'city, town' occurs in § 151 in the plural form *balaqat*. See above, n. 151. Cf. also §§ 248 and 265 for other references to cities with pounded-earth walls. On, 112, n. 270, suggests that Šigi Qutuqu may be referring 'to the towns of the Naiman in western Mongolia', but this is rather speculative. Cf. Oz[1], V, 117-118, n. 16. In the allocation of booty and apanages for Činggis Qan's family, of which Šigi Qutuqu was a member as one of Hö'elün's adoptive sons, Šigi claims for himself, and is accorded, a share of the inhabitants of the cities and towns subject to the Mongols. Although Šigi Qutuqu will, indeed, play an important role in the future distribution of the apanages, there is no doubt that, as noted by Ratchnevsky, his role in determining the share of members of Činggis' immediate family is grossly exaggerated by the author(s) of the SH, a fact that supports the theory that he may have played a part in its composition. Such distribution of shares within the family was, in fact, determined by Činggis himself and no other. See ISK, 80. Cf. Vlad.[2], 124-125; Jackson 1999, 18.

§ **204**. Činggis now recalls the services which he received from Father Mönglik, in particular the event described in § 168, when Mönglik prevented Činggis from falling into the trap set by Senggüm to capture him. He also recalls their growing up together, using the same phraseology when he addresses J̌elme soon after (see § 211). Father Mönglik's merits will be taken into account when Činggis spares him after the Teb Tenggeri 'affair' (§§ 245-246). It is worth noting that Mönglik is among the first commanders of a thousand to be rewarded by Činggis and, indeed, the first listed in § 202, clearly showing the high esteem in which he was held at the time. See Hambis 1975, 26; Li, 171, n. 204.

'Who at birth were born together *with me*,/When growing, grew up together *with me*', lit. 'Who with being born …,/With growing ….'

'How many times have you helped and protected me?', lit. 'How many indeed have your services and protection been?' Answer: very many. See the sectional summary, Y^2 8, 34b.

'Into whirling waters,/Into a blazing fire', lit. 'Into water that is whirling,/Into fire that is red' – an idiomatic expression: going into a whirlpool or a blazing fire means mortal danger.

'The seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent*.' This statement has caused a good deal of controversy owing to a misunderstanding of the word *nu'u* in the expression *ene nu'u huǰa'ur-a*, variously rendered as 'here in this corner' (Li, 92; cf. Ha, 92: 'hier an dieser Ecke'); 'at the base of this corner' (Mu, II, 400; Cl, 145); 'of this corner-base' (Ra, VIII, 28); 'this honoured seat' (Da^5, 168); 'at this corner' (Do^1, 225); 'on the corner at the end of this seat' (On, 113 and n. 271, amending *huǰa'ur* to *üǰü'ür* 'tip, extremity'; the 2001 ed., 194, has simply 'on the corner of this seat'); 'at this extreme point/side (端 read as *kata*!)' (Oz^1, V, 121; cf. Ev-Pop, 173), and 'on the first place of this side' (Oz^2, II, 66); 'at the principal (= honourable) side', i.e. on the first seat at the right-hand (= west) side of the *qan* (Га, 377, n. 604; Če, 190, 441, n. 480). Га, Če and Oz^2 provide the correct interpretation. The word *nu'u*, *nū* (= pmo. *nuγu*) in the 13th and 14th centuries had three meanings: 1) 'corner'; 2) (geogr.) 'a plain in the winding of a river' (cf. §§ 94, 220); and 3) 'direction, quarter, side', as in *dörben nuγus* (pl.) 'the four directions or quarters (of the world)', corresponding exactly to tu. *tört bulun*. See Cleaves 1959, 70, n. 75; TH, 139 (= ǰYT, 242); ED, 343b. Cf. ch. *yü* 隅 'corner, side' (CEDMU, 555c); fr. *coin* 'corner, spot'; etc. As for *huǰa'ur* 'origin, beginning', cf. above, n. 1. The seat 'at the very beginning of this (= my) side' in Činggis' tent was the seat next to him, in the back (= north side) of the tent. We know, in fact, from Rašīd al-Dīn, that Mönglik's regular seat was always immediately on the right of Činggis Qan and above all other officers. See Hambis, loc. cit. Rašīd's testimony settles the issue. For the elevated position in relation to status, cf. below, n. 205.

'Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you' (*hon-tur sara-tur satağu*), i.e. 'I shall consult with you (*or* seek advice from you) at all times.' There has been some speculation as to the meaning of the verb *sata-*, glossed *lun* 論 and *i-lun* 議論 'to discuss; to consult (with), deliberate' (Y^2 8, 34a-b), and attempts have been made to read it as **sada-* (cf. čag. *sadaqa* 'favour, bestowal, alms'; see MA, 314b; VWTD, IV, 384) 'to bestow alms, present offerings.' See TH, 235-236 (= ŽYT, 405-406); Oz^1, V, 123, n. 4; On, 113 and n. 272. However, the verb *sata-* occurs again in § 216 also glossed *i-lun*. Although *sata-* is a *hapax legomenon* in Mongolian, the SH glosses cannot be discounted twice. For another (in my opinion unlikely) interpretation of this word, see Ev-Pop, 291, n. 68, and the discussion below, n. 216. My own interpretation of this form is the following. There is in Mongolian a verb *sedü-* 'to think (out), devise, plan' (Les., 681b), which in the ET (see ET^3, 78v26) and in some modern languages occurs also in the form *sede-*. Cf., e.g., kh. *sėdėx*, kalm. *sed^{ə}χə* id. See L. Ligeti in *AOH* 38:1984, 334, for further examples. Now, 1) in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian there are several instances of normally back-vocalic words written as front-vocalic words and vice versa (*angqan ~ engken*, *dorona ~ döröne*, *ümere ~ umara*, *inegsi ~ inaγsi, iǰilidulča- ~ iǰilidülče-*, *naiγam ~ neyigem*, etc.), cf. SG, 131-133, § 68; de Rachewiltz 1982, 20; and below, n. 207; and 2) the alternation *t ~ d* is very common, see 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244. My opinion is that SH *sata-* = mo. *sede-*, *sedü-*. My interpretation is supported by the AT, where in the parallel passage of the SH, § 216 (AT^1, 69a), we find the relevant word written *sideǰü* (cf. ATL, 150) pro *sedeǰü*. Semantically, 'to consult, discuss, deliberate' is not very far from 'to devise, plan, etc.' Such an interpretation would also explain why a word that occurs *twice* in the SH has apparently 'disappeared' from the literary language and all the living languages and dialects without leaving a trace. Cf. also Cleaves 2001c, 103, n. 137.

'I shall give you gifts and favours' (*öklige soyurqal čimada öksü*). For *öklige* (= mo. *öglige*) 'gift', see TMEN, no. 23.

'I shall be attending on you' (*mali'an asuqai*). The verb *mali'a-*, glossed here as *shih-feng* 侍奉 'to attend on', occurs also in § 103 in the form *maliya-*, glossed as *chi-ssu* 祭祀 'to sacrifice, offer in sacrifice.' (For *-y- ~ -g/γ- ~ -'-*, cf. IMCS, 64-66.) For this reason and the fact that mo. *milaγa-* (a metathetical form of *maliya-*, kh. *myalaax*) means 'to anoint, smear with oil' (Les., 524a, 538b; DO, 464a), Ev-Pop, 173 (see also ibid., 291, n. 69), translates the above words as 'Je te bénirai.' Cf. TH, 223-224 (= ǰYT, 384-385). Like other translators, I prefer to follow the Chinese gloss. See Oz[1], V, 123, n. 6. My reason for doing so is because I believe that the meaning of 'to serve, attend on' has actually survived in the word *milaγur* (= *milāγur*), an adverb in *-γur(/-gür)* of *milā* (< *milaγa*), glossed in Kow., 2025a, as 'servilement, respectueusement (?).' *Milaγa* (kh. *myalga*) now means only 'whip', but from the above it appears that there was also a noun **milaγa* meaning 'service, attendance on' coinciding with the verbal root (*milaγa-*), i.e. one of the fairly numerous 'nomina-verba', on which see Kara 1993. **Milaγa* would then have corresponded to **maliya*. However, the word *mali'an* listed in HW, 106, as a noun ('Dienst, Aufwartung') is actually the converbum modale of *mali'a- ~ maliya-*.

§ **205**. On the early exploits of Činggis Qan, then Temüǰin, and Bo'orču, see §§ 90-93.

'I spent three days and nights on the way (*ǰa'ura*).' For this use of *ǰa'ura* 'during, in the space between (= *en route*)', cf. 'Trois documents', 436.

Regarding the puzzling word *bengleniǰü* (incorrectly read *banglaniǰu* in Oz[1], V, 124, 129; cf. Y[2] 8, 35a, line 3), I think there is no doubt that, as already suggested by Pelliot and Cleaves, it is a mistake for *mungtaniǰu* 'being in difficulty or distress', which is the word found in the corresponding passage in § 90. Cf. also §§ 92, 93. See Pe, 79, n. 4; Cl, 145, n. 66.

'Concealed.' The Mongol word here is *bürgüǰü*, whereas in §§ 90 and 93 it is *buquǰu*. The verb *buqu-* corresponds to pmo. *buγu-* 'to hide, put away, conceal', on which see Cleaves 1951, 83-84, n. 56. As for *bürgü-*, this verb corresponds to mo. *bürkü-* 'to cover, cover up, envelop, obscure' (Les., 150a). Da[5], 42, confuses pmo. *buγu-* with mo. *boγu-* (kh. *boox*) 'to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop' (Les., 111a), and in § 205 renders *bürgüǰü* as *orxiž* 'casting away, abandoning' (Da[5], 168).

'In the grass', lit. 'in the steppe' (*ke'er-e*).

'Before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings', lit. 'when we reached the circular camp (*güre'en*) that had stolen the light-bay geldings.'

'Because of your brave heart', lit. 'by the courage (*külük*) of your mind (= heart: *setkil*).' *Külük* (= mo. *külüg*), besides its usual meanings of 'fine horse, steed' and 'champion, stalwart, hero' (see above, nn. 3, 163), means also 'courage, bravery', i.e. the quality that makes one a champion, as in the case at hand. For this passage, cf. Sárközi 1978, 148.

'When I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion', lit. 'when I, sending Belgütei, said, "Let us be companions!"' Cf. Mo, 195. 'And came to join me', lit. 'When you came to be a companion,/Jumping on your chestnut horse...,/ the Three Merkit came, etc.' Cf. Cl, 146. For Belgütei's mission, see § 95. For *örmege ~ örmüge* 'woolen cloak', see above, n. 95.

The episode of young Temüǰin being pursued three times around Mount Burqan Qaldun by the Three Merkit is described in § 102 (and referred to again in §§ 111, 145 and 199), but there is no mention there of Bo'orču circling the mountain with him. For Bo'orču's role at the time, see the beginning of § 103.

'Throughout the night', lit. 'until the night finished.'

'One of your feet', lit. 'one of your two feet.'

In the brief description of the famous battle of Dalan Nemürges in § 153 there is no reference to Bo'orču's act of protecting Činggis from the night rain. However, in Bo'orču's biography in YS[2] 119, 2946, as well as in Muqali's biography in

YS[2] 119, 2929, this event is related; from these two biographies we also learn that Bo'orču and Muqali held the cloak together over their sleeping leader. Cf. ISK, 3-4. I think that both the episode of Bo'orču circling Burqan Qaldun and of holding the felt cloak (*nemürge*) are part of a later elaboration of epic themes concerning Činggis' *nököt* (Bo'orču, Muqali, Jelme, etc.) circulating at the time when the SH was composed and, perhaps, further developed by the author(s) of the SH. The *gesta* of Činggis' 'paladins' must have formed a sizable body of epic literature, some of which has survived to this day outside the SH, in works like the AT and the ČQČ, as well as in oral tradition. As noted earlier (see above, n. 90), Bo'orču's name appears in a fragment, apparently from the 'Precepts of Činggis Qan' in alliterative verse, found by P.K. Kozlov in Qara Qoto. See W. Kotwicz quoted in Cleaves 1955, 7; and Munkuev 1970, 343. The felt-cloak episode may well have had its origin in a simple association of ideas with the very name of the place where it was supposed to have occurred: Dalan Nemürges or 'The Seventy Felt Cloaks.' See EM, 184, n. 1.

'What brave deeds of yours am I to mention?', lit. 'what bravery of yours shall I finish telling?'

'You urged me to carry out what was right,/You persuaded me not to do what was wrong', lit. 'You pulled until my right proceeded,/You restrained until my wrong subsided': a very Mongolian way of putting it, and, undoubtedly, an idiomatic phrase too. Cf. Vlad.[2], 120.

Bo'orču, the first of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' and the second commander of a thousand created by Činggis Qan is, at the same time, appointed a commander of ten thousand (more about which later) and is also conferred two additional privileges: a high seat (*sa'uri*) in Činggis Qan's tent, and the special exemption from punishment for up to nine infringements of the law. For the second privilege, see above, n. 203. The expression *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'u-* means 'to occupy a seat over (*or* above) all', i.e. to sit (at court ceremonies, banquets, etc.) on a more elevated (= physically raised) place than that occupied by

all other officials. The explanation is found in John of Pian di Carpine's description of the Mongol princely court: 'He [Batu – I.R.] even sits raised up as if on a throne with one of his wives; the others, however, both his brothers and sons and others less noble, sit lower down on a bench in the middle; as for the rest they sit beyond them on the ground, the men on the right and the women on the left' (MM, 57). See also ibid., 64-65. Cf. SF, 110; SDM, 386; as well as MP^2, I, 381. The seat or position occupied by Bo'orču obviously was to the right of the *qan*, on the raised platform, 'above' the rest of the officials who sat on the ground (the same arrangement applies to Muqali, see § 206). The term *de'ere* has special 'vertical' connotations, the model being Heaven Above (*de'ere tenggeri*), under which come the *qan* on his raised throne, his family and the rest of the officials sitting at different levels according to their rank. Physical elevation was for the Mongols (as for most other people) a status symbol, hence also the predilection of chiefs for burials on mountains that we have already discussed, and the lifting of the *qan* on the white felt carpet when he was elected, the symbolism compounded with three or nine prostrations, etc. See HWC, 187-188, 252, n. 16, 568, n. 50; cf. D'Ohsson, II, 10, 199, 254; de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-250, n. 116. Within a given level, status was indicated by positioning according to orientation, both along east-west and south-north directions. For the word *sa'uri ~ sa'urin* (= mo. *sayuri*[*n*]) 'seat, station', cf. Cleaves 1988, 158, n. 18; and above, n. 142.

The SH informs us that, on the same occasion, Bo'orču was also put in charge of the ten thousand men or myriarchy (*tümen*) of the right or west wing (lit. 'hand') (*bara'un qar*) of the Mongol army. This wing was composed of troops drawn from tribes inhabiting the region extending westwards to the Altai Mountains or, as the SH says, 'using the Altai as a pillow' (*Altai deregelün*). For the interpretation of this expression I follow the Chinese sectional summary. See Y^2 8, 39a. Cl, 147, n. 76, understands 'which live in front of the Altai Mountain'; cf. Oz^2, II, 68: 'depending on (= adjoining, by) the Altai Mountain(s)'; Ev-

Pop, 174: 'accotée à l'Altaï.' He was, therefore, a commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*) as well as of a thousand (*minqan-u noyan*). As leader of a thousand, the first such unit (*minqan*) of the right wing, composed of men of his own Arulat, or Arlat, tribe, belonged to him. Bo'orču's appointment is mentioned in SL^2, I/2, 267, and is repeated in the SH, § 220. On his double appointment as commander of a thousand and of ten thousand, see MJK, 19, 21, 23, 26, 29, 32; cf. also Li, 171, n. 205, 174, n. 220, and 175-176, n. 227.

§ **206**. The Leafy Tree, Saqlaqar or, as here, Saqlār (< Saqlaqar [= mo. Saγlaγar]) Modun, was first mentioned in § 57; from § 117 we learn that it was situated on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley. See above, nn. 57 and 117.

For *tenggeri-yin ǰa'arin* or 'heavenly sign (*or* omen)', see above n. 121. The word *tentek* (= mo. *temdeg*), which is in the same category of numenous phenomena, is glossed in the SH as 'clear, manifest' (*ming-pai* 明白), but it also carries the meaning of 'ominous sign, omen, prodigy', which I think is implied in the present context, hence my rendering of it as 'clear portent.' Cf. Les., 798b; BŠDT, 73b; Oz^1, V, 137, n. 1. (Similarly, the verb *ǰa'a-* 'to inform, announce' [> *ǰa'arin* 'sign (of things to come)'] implies foretelling.) Unfortunately, we do not know what the 'heavenly sign' was, but it may have been a prophetic vision or dream similar to that of Qorči described in § 121 and, like Qorči's, predicting Temüǰin's ultimate victory and rise to supreme leadership of the Mongol tribes. On the other hand, this may be a later addition to Muqali's saga prompted perhaps by the fact that Qorči's prophetic vision is recalled immediately after the section on Muqali in § 207. Cf. Li, 171, n. 206; Chiodo 1992, 146, n. 106. It is also not clear what the reference to Muqali's father Gü'un Qo'a (Gü'ün U'a in § 137) means, but he obviously plays a part in the lost story, or epic, of Muqali. The answer may have been provided in the no longer extant family biography of Muqali by Yüan Yung-chen 元永貞, on which see

ISK, 12 (Editorial Note). The promise made by Činggis Qan was, of course, to reward him in the way described should his prophecy come true.

'He shall *henceforth* seat on a seat [above all others].' The text merely says *sa'uri de'ere sa'uǰu* 'sitting on a seat', but from the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 40b) it appears that the original text had (as in § 205) *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'uǰu*, hence the restoration of the missing words in my translation.

With regard to the title *gui ong*, we have already seen that the references to it in § 202, as in the present one and also in § 220, are anachronistic. See above, n. 202. Like Bo'orču, Muqali was appointed commander of a thousand (see § 202, no. 3), as well as of ten thousand. The first unit of a thousand (*minqan*) of the left wing composed of his own tribesmen, the J̌alayir, belonged to him. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 270; MJK, 18-20, 22-23; Li, 171, n. 206. As *tümen-ü noyan*, he was entrusted with the supreme command of the left or east wing (*ǰe'ün qar*) of the army whose effectives were drawn from tribes inhabiting eastern Mongolia up to the Qara'un J̌idun Mountains in the southern Great Khingan Range (see above, n. 183). North China was regarded as a natural extension of this region and, therefore, it also fell under Muqali's control. His future leadership of the campaign in north China against the Jurchen/Chin state is a logical consequence of this appointment.

'Which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un J̌idun *Mountains*', lit. 'using the Qara'un J̌idun as a pillow.' Cf. above, n. 205 ad fin.

§ 207. On Qorči's prophetic words, see § 121. Cf. Vlad.^{2}, 137.

For the alliterative saying 'When it was wet,/You suffered the wet with me;/When it was cold,/You suffered the cold with me', which occurs again, but in a different context in § 213, see Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77. Cf. Gaadamba 1968, 111, 125. For *nobši-* 'to be wet', cf. DO, 495a: *noвšī-* 'être mouillé jusqu'aux os.' For the connotations of both *nobši-* and *köbši-* 'to be cold',

cf. J.C. Street's remarks in AEOJ, 227-228. Cf. also Cleaves 1948, 319, n. 23.

'Indeed, you have constantly been' (*bolǰu yabuba ǰe či*). As in many other instances, *yabu-* functions here as an auxiliary verb of continuity. See above, n. 15 et passim.

'Beneficent spirit' renders the Mongolian *nendü qutuq* – a puzzling expression, the exact connotations of which escape us. In the interlinear translation it is glossed as *fu-shen* 福神 'a spirit (deity, god) that brings good fortune (*or* happiness), a beneficent spirit.' The same expression occurs in § 231 in the form *nendü'ut* (pl.) *qutuq*, where only the word *qutuq* is glossed as *fu-shen*. In §§ 105 and 109, *fu-shen* renders also *qutuq ~ quduq* (= *qutuq*). See HW, 73, 70. In the sectional summary of § 207 the expression is not translated, while in that of § 231 it is likewise rendered as *fu-shen* (Y^2 10, 4a). It is clear that while the first element of the two-word compound was no longer understood by the Ming translators in the second half of the 14th century, the whole expression was taken as meaning 'beneficent spirit(s)' ('divinités bienfaisantes' [A.M.]). The passage corresponding to § 231 in the AT^1, 75b, has *ertekid qutuγ-tan*, undoubtedly a copyist's error for *nendügüd qutuγ-tan*. Cf. ATL, 164; LDAT, 164. On the evidence of its plural form *nendü'üt*, Pelliot suggested an original (sing.) *nendük*. See Pe, 80, n. 3: 'nändü[k]?'; and '*nändü* 207, *nändü'üt* 231; suppose *nändü*[*k*]' (u.n.). Cf. Ra, VIII, 30, 53-54. However, in the SH a word ending in a vowel can also have a plural in *-'ut/-'üt*. Cf., e.g., *alaqči'ut* (pl. of *alaqči* 'pied, multicoloured') in §§ 124 and 170. See HW, 4; Street 1990a, 368 (6.8) and n. 166. There has been much speculation as to the meaning of *nendü*, but in my view most of the more recent interpretations are unconvincing. See Oz^1, V, 143 (followed by On, 114 and n. 275): *nendü* = *mendü* 'peaceful' (On: 'strong'; cf. the 2001 ed., 196 and n. 486); cf. Oz^2, II, 69: 'tutelary spirit' rendering *nendü qutuq*; Га, 379, n. 609: *nendü* = *neng-tü* (kh. *nėnt*) 'furthermore, even more', hence 'eminent, superior' (? following Ko, 559); Ma, 253: *nendü* = *erkim degedü* 'highest, most distinguished' (*nendü qutuq* = 'the

greatest blessing'). Cf. Do[2], 175, n. 3. Earlier scholars suggested that *nendü qutuq* may have been the name of a kind of tutelary spirit or god in the religious (shamanistic) system of the 13th century Mongols. Cf. HW, 73, s.v. 'ḫutuh'; GGMGL, 176; and Yao-Ja, II, 256, § 207, n. 1. Cf. Ja, 312, n. 2. I was also of this opinion and in Ra, VIII, 54, put forth the idea that by *nendü'üt qutuq* were perhaps meant the tutelary spirits and household gods later known as *ongqod*, the felt images ('dolls') of which are described by 13th century travellers. See SF, 36, 174; MM, 9, 95-96; RCAC, 17-18; RTEM, 354 et passim. Subsequently, however, a note in El-Ar referring to the expression in § 231, not to that in § 207, has prompted a new interpretation. El-Ar, 760, n. 5, equates *nendü'üt* with *ariγun nandin* 'sacred' (lit. 'pure/sacred-noble/sacred), but without giving any supporting evidence. Cf. Če, 192 and 443, n. 489, where *nendü qutuq* is explained as *ariγun* (or *sayin*) *qutuq* 'sacred (*or* good) spirit.' I think that El-Ar may have unwittingly hit the nail on the head by introducing mo. *nandin*. This word has an interesting history: it goes back to Sanskrit, where we find *nanda* (< *nand* 'to rejoice') 'joy, prosperity, happiness; name of one of the Nāga-kings'; *nandi* 'the happy one'; and *nandin* 'rejoicing, gladdening.' See SED, 526c-527b. *Nanda* occurs also in the form *nando* in compound proper names. Cf. MV, 164, no. 3239; BHSD, 290b; BTD, 239, no. 3241. With the adoption of Buddhism by the Mongols, skr. *nanda*, *nandi* and *nandin* passed into classical Mongolian in the form Nandi as a proper name (cf. ET[3], 5r15; AT[1], 13b), and into classical Mongolian and the modern literary language as *nanda*, *nandi(n)* with the meanings of 'joy, happiness; precious; noble, venerable, sacred.' See Kow., 602b; Les., 564b; MKT, 337c; MED, 231a. I think it possible that, at an earlier stage, also the Sanskrit form *nando* (~ *nanda*) passed into Mongolian (possibly via Uighur?), where it became **nando* ~ **nandu*. Cf. mo. Balbo ~ Balbu (< tib. Bal-po) 'Nepal.' In the language of the 13th and 14th centuries, the passage of a word from the front- to the back-vocalic class and vice versa is well attested. Cf., e.g.,

ümere~umara 'north', *döröne~dorona* 'east', *angqan~engken* 'the most…', 'the very…', *soyu-~söyü-* 'to instruct.' See above, n. 204. I think, therefore, that **nando* ~ **nandu* could easily have become *nendü* (*nendö* is phonetically impossible in Mongolian), with the basic meaning of 'prosperity, happiness' (as in Sanskrit), which, in combination with *qutuq*, would yield the very rendering of the Chinese gloss. This is to a large extent speculative, but it could provide a satisfactory explanation of both the problem of the Chinese gloss(es), and of the fact that the word in question has apparently (but only apparently) disappeared from Mongolian without a trace after the 13th century.

'If the prophecy comes true (*ǰöb bolu'asu*).' For the expression *ǰöb bol-* 'to become right', i.e. 'to be fulfilled', cf. Cleaves 1948, 319-320.

For Qorči's request of thirty women as a reward for the fulfilment of his prophesy, and on the subsequent (and not trouble-free!) realization of his wish, see §§ 121 and 241.

Qorči was a Ba'arin (Bārin) and one of the commanders of a thousand appointed by Činggis Qan in 1206 (§ 202, no. 4). The 3,000 Ba'arin troops already belonged to him, hence the words 'on top of' (*de'ere*). 'Make up a full ten thousand' is, literally, 'filling ten thousand' (*tüme dü'ürčü*). The unit of ten thousand of which Činggis had thus put him in charge together with the two other commanders Taqai and Ašiq (on whom see below) consisted of troops from the Činōs, Tö'ölös and Telengüt tribes. The text speaks of 'the Činōs of the Adarkin.' On the Adarkin tribe, see HCG, 57-58, 60, 300. As remarked by Pelliot, op. cit., 135 and 300, the association of the Adarkin with the Činōs (on whom see ibid., 131-137) is not clear. Cf. SL^2, I/2, 269; and Li, 172, no. 207. Na^2, 295, says that the Činōs had been dispersed – presumably after their defeat at Dalan Balǰut (see SH, § 129) – and had become the subjects of the Adarkin, which would then explain their designation in this passage of the SH. On the Tö'ölös (~ Tö'eles > Tōles = Tōleš) and the Telengüt (pl. of Teleng), see IOD, 146, n. 21; HCG, 300; NHHO, 142 and nn. 1

and 2; NCHK, I, 5, 9, 60, n. 55, 120, n. 55; Cleaves 1956a, 395 and n. 21; Ligeti 1966, 124; Hambis 1957, 32-34; idem 1970a, 175-178. They were two of the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and they are mentioned again, as Tö'eles and, incorrectly, as 'Tenlek', in § 239. The People of the Forest, first mentioned in § 202, were tribes of forest hunters inhabiting the vast region extending from the upper reaches of the Irtysh, the Erdiš of the SH, to the Yenisei and Angara rivers, and covering the former Uryankhai Territory, i.e. Tannu-Tuva (Tuva AO, now the Tuvin Republic in the RF). As is evident from their designation, the other Mongols regarded them as being different and somewhat beyond the pale, largely because of their remoteness and mode of life, but possibly also because of their more pronounced 'Turkish' component. On them, see SL^2, I/1, 85; I/2, 47, 49, 84, 120. Cf. Vlad.^{2}, 39ff.; HCG, 184, 185; Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 6.

With regard to the two commanders Taqai and Ašiq mentioned together with Qorči, the former must be the Taqai of § 202 (no. 24), i.e. Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus, on whom see above, n. 151. The latter is almost certainly the Ašiq Güregen of § 202 (no. 83).

For the expressions 'this way or that' (*eyin teyin*), and 'without agreement (= permission)' (*eye üge'ü~ügei'ü*), see above, nn. 102 and 171.

'He should not hesitate *to kill them*', lit. 'why should he hesitate?' As is the case in pronouncements of this kind in Mongolian, the rhetorical question invariably implies the enforcement of capital punishment. Cf. Cl, 148, n. 82.

§ **208**. Jürčedei of the Uru'ut (Urūt) tribe, the hero of the battle of Qalaqalǰit Sands, is the sixth commander of a thousand in the list of § 202. The momentous events recalled by Činggis Qan at the beginning of this section are related in § 171 of the SH, where Jürčedei is referred to as Uncle Jürčedei (Jürčedei Ebin). See above, nn. 130 and 171. For sworn friend (*anda*) Quyildar's

(= Quyildar Sečen's) 'oath', i.e. his vow to fight in front of (i.e. as vanguard before) Činggis Qan, see also § 171.

The Tübegen are the Tümen Tübegen, and the Dongqayit, the Olon Dongqayit (see § 170); as for Quri Šilemün, this is the same personage called Qori Šilemün Taiši in §§ 170 and 171, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan. Cleaves' translation 'the Quri Šilemün, the thousand dayguards' (Cl, 148) is not accurate.

For the *učumaq* arrows, see above, n. 174.

'To open the door and the reins', i.e. 'to open the door and loosen the reins', is obviously an idiomatic expression that conveys the idea of removing barriers and allowing free progress. In other words, Heaven had opened the way to Činggis' success and from that moment on had led him into a commanding position. As to the latter point, it should be noted that the word 'reins' (*ǰilo'a ~ ǰilu'a*) means also 'rule, order, control', as in the English expression 'the reins of government.' Cf. § 224. From Činggis Qan's remarks it appears that he regarded the victory over the Kereyit at Qalaqalǰit Sands as the turning point of his career.

For the verb *širqa-* 'to wound' (cf. mo. *sirqa*[*n*] 'wound'), see Mostaert 1949, 475. It is not included in the list of 'nomina-verba' in Kara 1993, 3-4.

'What would have become of us?' (*yambar maqa bolqun büle'ei bida*), lit. 'what would we have become?' For the use of *maqa* (Cl, 148: 'indeed') as an enclitic, see 'Trois documents', 463-464. Cf. above, n. 31.

'That was indeed J̌ürčedei's great*est* and *most* important service.' As noted in Street 1990, 189, n. 25, the *J̌ürčedei-yi* of the text must be emended to *J̌ürčedei-yin*. Cf. Oz[1], V, 147. However, the text is not emended in Street's transcription (St, 103, line 8440).

'When he separated from me.' This refers to Činggis' movements after the battle, when he split his forces, himself leading half of them along the western bank of the Khalkha, and J̌ürčedei the other half (composed of Uru'ut and Mangqut

troops) along the eastern bank of the river. See § 175. For Jürčedei's contemporaneous mission to the Onggirat chiefs (Terge Emel and others) of Lake Buyur, i.e. the Buir Nōr, see § 176.

For Činggis' arrival at Lake Baljuna, Jürčedei's reconnoitring and the Kereyit's defeat, see §§ 182-183 and 185. Jürčedei was with Činggis and the other companions at Lake Baljuna. On all these events, cf. again Cleaves 1955a, 367ff.

'With our strength increased by Heaven and Earth.' For this expression, cf. §§ 113, 121, 125, and above, n. 113.

'Being cut off' renders Mongolian *ongǰaldaǰu* following the Chinese gloss. See Cl, 148: id. This is an obsolete word, the verb *ongǰal-* having disappeared from the literary language and the dialects. The verb is a denominal one in *-l-* from **ongǰa* 'blade, axe.' Cf. bur. *unža* id. (BRS, 470a). See Oz[1], V, 155, n. 4.

'Lost heart' renders *čirai-ban ququraǰu*, lit. 'their mien was broken.' For this use of *čirai* 'mien, countenance, appearance' = 'daring, will to fight', see above, n. 196. Cf. Cl, 149, n. 37.

Ong Qan's younger brother J̌aqa Gambu had two daughters, one of whom was taken by Činggis Qan and the other was given to Tolui. Because of this relationship, J̌aqa Gambu was allowed to retain control of his own subjects after the defeat and disintegration of the Kereyit tribe. There is, however, no previous reference in the SH to J̌aqa Gambu's subsequent ('second') rebellion and of Jürčedei's role in capturing and executing him. Ibaqa Beki was J̌aqa Gambu's eldest daughter whom Činggis had taken for himself. See § 186.

'He disregarded his life', lit. 'He deployed (*or* exposed) his life'. For *öre-*, cf. mo. *örö-* 'to set in order; arrange' (Les. 643b). *Ölümle-* 'to fight to the death' is a denominal verb formed on tu. *ölüm* 'death.' It has the secondary meanings of 'to press on (regardless)' and 'to strive fiercely' which are found elsewhere in the SH (§§ 254, 281), and in later texts. See below, n. 254. Cf. HW, 124; TH, 126 (= ǰYT, 221). It is with the latter acceptation that Oz[1], V, 153 (cf. Oz[2], II, 71), On, 116 (cf.

the 2001 ed., 198), and others have rendered this passage; however, I think that the context warrants the former. Cf. Ev-Pop, 176: 'Parce qu'il s'acharnait au combat.'

'You have a bad character.' The text has *čimayi ülige če'eǰi činu üge'üi*, lit. 'you are without your *ülige* and breast.' The word *ülige* is not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (Y^2 8, 48b) renders this sentence as 'you are without character (*or* disposition)' (你無性行). *Ülige* has survived in kh. *ülėg* 'bad character, vicious, malicious.' See Cėv., 620b. *Če'eǰi* (= mo. *čegeǰi*) 'breast, bosom' has also the meaning of 'memory, mind' (Les., 170a; DO, 699b). In our text it combines with *ülige* to mean 'character, nature, disposition' in a positive sense; therefore, 'to be without character' = 'to have a bad character.' See Pa, 118. Cf. pmo. and mo. *ayali aburi* 'natural disposition, character' → 'moral character *or* worth, virtue, virtuous conduct.' See de Rachewiltz 1982, 53, n. 6. Oz^1, V, 158-159, n. 11 (cf. Oz^2, II, 71), and On, 116, render the compound as 'intelligence' on the basis of TH, 131 (= ǰYT, 228-229), but the SH sectional summary interpretation cannot be dismissed on the basis of a correspondence with a modern Mongolian dialect; moreover, one wonders whether Činggis Qan would have been more concerned with Ibaqa Beki's intelligence than with her pleasant (or unpleasant) character. In any event, the meaning 'character' is supported by AT^1, 65b, where the expression *ülige če'eǰi* is preceded by the word *aburi* 'character, disposition, etc.', obviously inserted to clarify its meaning.

'You, who have entered … *wives*', lit. 'You, who have entered into my breast and legs (i.e. who have become my wife) and who have come down (i.e. to me) taking *your* place in the ranks (i.e. among my principal wives).' For this phraseology, cf. § 155 and com.; and Mo, 73-74 (where, however, the expression 'épouses imperiales' is somewhat anachronistic since we are still in 1206).

'In deference to the great principle *whereby services are duly rewarded*' (*yeke töre* [= *törö*] *setkiǰü*), lit. 'thinking (= being mindful of) the great principle.' (I have varied the

rendering of the verb *setki-* in this section to avoid a monotonous repetition.) The 'great principle' (*yeke törö*) is mentioned again in § 220 as such, and in § 252 as *yeke yosu* 'the great norm.' Although in neither case the meaning of the expression is spelled out, it is clear from the individual contexts that it referred to one of the cardinal principles, if not the very cornerstone, of the *ǰasaq*, viz. the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject governing all relations between the two: from below loyalty and obedience to the *qan*, and from above protection and due reward for good service to the retainer. Cf. the case of Qulan and Naya'a in § 197, and the ones in §§ 220 and 252. For *yeke törö*, cf. also *Matériel I*, 10 (6r, 1), 26, where reference is made to the same principle.

'He brought together the people/Who had become divided,/He united the people/Who had scattered.' Cf. the poetic passages in §§ 96 and 104 where the same phraseology is used. The unification of the tribes by Činggis Qan is a recurrent theme in the SH, underscoring what was undoubtedly regarded as his greatest achievement by his contemporaries.

For the expression 'they should not disobey my words', see above, n. 204.

'They are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place *among my wives*.' Činggis Qan means that, in spite of the fact that Ibaqa Beki was given as wife to J̌ürčedei, she should continue to be regarded as holding the status she had earlier held as a *qan*'s wife, i.e. she would not lose the (hereditary) privileges associated with her former rank by marrying J̌ürčedei, evidently an exceptional favour in the circumstances.

'Gave you two hundred servants as dowry (*ingǰes*).' The *ingǰes*, pl. of **ingǰe* (~ *inǰe*, cf. § 43; but see below), were the servants and maids who, as part of the bride's dowry, followed her to her new household to which they remained attached, their status not being dissimilar, apparently, from that of domestic slaves. See Les., 411b, s.v. 'ingzi' . A good deal has been written on this early Mongol institution. See Vlad.[2], 70, 82, 85, 127, n. 6; Cleaves 1950, 54-55, n. 184; ESYD, 3, 82,

n. 8; Ebisawa 1969, 57-61; Mu, I, 48, n. 4; MSKK, 133 et passim; MTSK, Index, 21a; Aubin 1975, 547 and n. 52; Shiraiwa 1988; TH, 109-100 (= ǰYT, 194-195). Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 511-512; idem 1987, 72; Pritsak 1988, 770; Serruys 1945, 130. For the term *inǰe* (**ingǰe*), see TMEN, no. 670 (where, however, the terms *inǰe* and *emčü* [see above, n. 137] have been erroneously related); for its Chinese counterparts, see Cleaves, loc. cit. It should be noted that in the corresponding passage of the AT, the text has *inǰes*, not *ingǰes* (AT[1], 66a); this was almost certainly the original form in the SH. The Uru'ut (Urūt) was J̌ürčedei's own tribe. See above.

'To remember you', lit. '*as* your souvenir' (*geriyes-iyen*). On the term *geriyes* (~ *geri'es*) 'souvenir, keepsake', see Cleaves 1949, 110-111, n. 82. For the stewards (*ba'určin*), see above, n. 124. On the name Alčiq (of Turkic origin), cf. Bese 1978, 356, no. 4. Ašiq (= Ašiγ) Temür is, likewise, a Turkic name, meaning 'Useful Iron.'

'As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?', lit. 'Will you not be in charge, you, of your four thousand Uru'ut?' – a rhetorical question. Cf. 'Trois documents', 465. The four thousand men under the command of J̌ürčedei formed the unit assigned to him by Činggis (no. 6 in § 202). As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 172, n. 208), in Rašīd al-Dīn's work (where J̌ürčedei is confused with his son Ketei throughout) the account of how Ibaqa Beki was given to J̌ürčedei is quite different from the one told in the SH. See SL[2], I/1, 186; I/2, 271. Cf. also HCG, 7, 236-237; Vlad.[2], 85. There is a biography of J̌ürčedei in YS[2] 120, 2962-2963. More than three fourths of § 208 are found in the AT version (AT[1], 65a-66a; cf. ATL, 138-141; LDAT, 147-149).

§ **209**. Chapter Nine of the SH has been translated in full, with annotations and a glossary, by Kuo-yi Pao in 1965. (Kuo-yi Pao is the Chinese name of Professor Unensechin of the Khorchin Borjigin clan.) See Pao, and the reviews of this work by H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 477-480; N. Poppe in *CAJ* 11:1966,

234-235; and Hashimoto Masaru 橋本勝 in *TYGH* 52:1969, 85-95.

The Qubilai mentioned in this section is Qubilai of the Barulas, one of the so-called 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*). See above, n. 195; Li, 172, n. 209. His appointment as head of 'all military affairs' is, however, immediately qualified by Činggis Qan's statement to the effect that he would share command of a *minqan* with Bedü'ün of the Dörben. He is the eighth commander of a thousand listed in § 202.

'You, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei – these "four hounds" of mine', lit. 'These, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübegetei, you my "four hounds."' Sübegetei is the written form of Sübe'etei (> Sübētei). See above, n. 199.

'Directing you *to the place* I had in mind' (*setkiksen-tür ǰori'ulǰu*), or 'directing you to what I aimed', i.e. 'towards that which I had in view' (Cl, 151, n. 1). Cf. Mo, 129. However, specific reference to 'the place' (*qaǰar*) where Činggis had directed his 'four hounds' is made after the next poetic passage.

For the phraseology and imagery of the poetic passage, cf. §§ 72 and 147; Bese 1969, 130; Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 115. For *qal-* 'to attack', cf. above, n. 147. As for *nitul-* 'to kill, butcher, slaughter', in the present context it has the meaning of 'to cut asunder, cleave', not registered in Les., 586b, but found in Kow., 658b, s.v. '*nitula-*' ('[2]couper'). Cf. Gol., II, 26c; MGDJ, I, 504c.

In this section of the SH, the author, writing with an eye to posterity, enumerates the members of the select group of Činggis' paladins in whom he had complete trust, viz. the 'four hounds' (Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei), the 'four steeds' (Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un, called here Čila'un Ba'atur as in §§ 163 and 177), as well as J̌ürčedei of the Uru'ut (just mentioned in § 208) and Quyildar of the Mangqut (whose death is described in § 175).

Bedü'ün (pmo. Bedügün; cf. AT[1], 31b, 66b) is the Moči Bedü'ün ('Bedü'ün the Carpenter') of § 120, a chief of the Dörben. In our passage, Bedü'ün is criticised by Činggis Qan

on account of his *moǰirqaq* (AT[1], 66b: *moǰirqaγ*), a term rendered in the Chinese sectional summary as 'stubborn(ness)' (性拗), but left untranslated in the interlinear version. This is a denominal noun in *-rqaq(/-rkek*; mo. *-rqaγ/-rkeg*), designating an abundance of something (see GWM, 43, § 134), from **moǰi*, a word unattested in Mongolian. In view of the Chinese rendering, *moǰirqaq* must be related to mo. *muǰi-*, *muǰii-* 'to have a squinting eye', which in Khalkha has retained also the meaning of 'to behave obstinately.' See Les., 554b; Cëv., 348b, s.v. '*mužix*' and '*mužiix*.' Hence it must also be related (as suggested by Pao, 47, n. 18) to mo. *muǰiγar* 'squinting, slanting' (Les., 554b), and, presumably, also 'obstinate', a meaning that has, however, not survived in the literary language and the dialects. The nearest approximation is bur. *možogor* 'awkward, clumsy, stupid' (BRS, 298b). See TH, 228 (= ǰYT, 392-393); Oz[1], V, 167, n. 3. For *o* ~ *u* (*moǰi-* ~ *muǰi-*), cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269. Although the term *moǰirqaq* may well have been used in relation to Bedü'ün because of its similarity in sound to his sobriquet Moči, it is clear from the above that there is no semantic relationship between *moči* (< **mo*[*n*] 'tree, wood') 'carpenter' and **moǰi* 'stubborn(ness)'; therefore, to interpret the name Moči Bedü'ün as 'Bedü'ün the Stubborn' (Do[1], 236, n. 3) is unwarranted. We do not know in what way Bedü'ün had manifested his stubbornness vis-à-vis Činggis Qan so as to incur his displeasure, and there is no further mention of this personage in the SH. For the expression 'I was displeased with him' (*bi ma'uilaǰu yabuǰu*), cf. Mo, 195; 'Trois documents', 466; and Aalto 1973, 36.

'And he added', lit. 'Further, he said.'

§ **210**. On Qunan of the Geniges, the seventh commander of a thousand in the list in § 202, see § 122. Although our text says that Činggis Qan spoke to Qunan, the actual order is directed to the other commanders, i.e. the commanders of a thousand Bo'orču and Muqali, and the chamberlains (*čerbin*; see above, n. 120) Dödei, Doqolqu and others, *in favour* of Qunan, hence

Pao's translation 'Činggis-Qahan said of Qunan' (Pao, 32) which, however, is grammatically not correct. The Mongolian text is confirmed by the AT (AT[1], 66b; cf. ATL, 143), but the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 9, 5a) makes Činggis Qan address 'Bo'orču, Muqali and others', thus clarifying the awkward original. Unfortunately, we do not know whether this is the interpretation of the authors of the sectional summary, or whether the Mongolian manuscript they used gave a text different from the present one. On the appointment of Qunan as 'commander of ten thousand' (*tümen-ü noyan*) under Joči, see Li, 172-173, n. 210. Ligeti rightly points out the disagreement on this point between the SH statement and Rašīd al-Dīn's account, but cf. de Rachewiltz 1965, 192, n. 30, where it is suggested that *tümen-ü noyan* may be a mistake for *minqan-u noyan*, a confusion between the two ranks occurring not infrequently in the sources of the period. There is, moreover, disagreement among scholars as to the identities of the various personages called Qunan (= pmo., mo. Гunan) in the SH (§§ 122, 177, 202, 210, 216 and 243). For some (e.g., Li, 227; Mu, I, 248, n. 6) we are dealing with the same person throughout; for others (e.g., Cl, 241b; Ta, 310b; Ev-Pop, 342a), with two distinct persons. I think that the Qunan mentioned in § 177, being a Tayiči'ut, is certainly a different person. Cf. also Mu, loc. cit; MJK, 2, 13, 36, 37, 40, 47. On Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi, see § 124; Hambis 1975, 43.

'A male wolf' (*gendü činō*). For *gendü* 'the male of carnivorous animals in general', cf. TMEN, no. 354. The poetic simile of the wolf stealthily following its prey at night, and of the crow hovering in mid-air over its prey in daytime, is used to illustrate not only the single-mindedness and efficiency of Qunan as a military man, but also his reliability and obedience; indeed he was a man of complete integrity when confronted with 'strangers' (*bosu* [read *busu*] *gü'ün*) and 'mortal enemies' (*öštü gü'ün*), i.e. with any potential or real adversary. The expression *bosu gü'ün* has been interpreted in different ways because the puzzling word *bosu* is not glossed in the interlinear

translation. Cf. Ko, 560 (under § 209!); Ra, IX, 128-129. However, I now agree with Ligeti, Ozawa and others that *bosu* is simply a faulty transcription for *busu* 'other, different, strange.' Cf. Li, 97; Oz[1], V, 173, n. 3. *Busu kümün* (SH: *gü'ün*) is a common expression in Mongolian and is, in fact, found in the AT (AT[1], 72a; cf. ATL, 156) in the passage corresponding to the SH, § 224 (= R, 129, line 8733: *busu-yi oro'ulǰu*): *busu kümün-i oroγulǰu* 'recruiting other people.' Cf. also Les., 140b. However, in the present context *busu gü'ün* obviously has negative connotations, being 'paired' with *öštü gü'ün*, as rightly noted by Cleaves (Cl, 152, n. 9). Cf. gr. ἕτερος 'other, different', and 'other than good or right.' In the sectional summary (loc. cit.), *busu gü'ün* and *öštü gü'ün* are, in fact, rendered with the single expression *tai-jen* 歹人 'evil people', fusing, as it were, the two concepts into one. It is not clear why in Ev-Pop, 182, *busu gü'ün* is rendered as 'qui vient de loin.' For *öštü gü'ün* 'mortal enemy', see above, n. 149.

'He did not put on another face,/...He did not put on a different face', in other words, he would not act treacherously or shamelessly.

'Do not act without the agreement (i.e. the approval)' (*eye üge'ü bu üyiletkün*). For this expression, see Cleaves 1953, 80, n. 12.

J̌oči (? 1184-1227), Činggis' eldest son, is first mentioned in § 165. See above, nn. 104, 165. Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin is first mentioned in § 120, together with Old Üsün (Üsün Ebügen), in the list of the tribe and clan leaders who sided with Činggis Qan after he separated from J̌amuqa. Degei of the Besüt is also mentioned in the same section. Kökö Čos and Degei are listed among the commanders of a thousand in § 202 (nos. 30 and 20 respectively), and Degei reappears in § 220. Old Üsün must not be confused with Hüsün, a commander of a thousand, listed in § 202 (no. 11), on whom see SL[2], I/2, 41. On these personages, see also § 216, where some of the same phraseology is repeated. What Činggis means by saying that they never hid from him what they saw and never concealed from him what they heard, is

that they were always honest and sincere, and completely trustworthy. This whole section (§ 210) gives the impression that it has been introduced for the express purpose of illustrating and extolling such qualities. For *qabči-* 'to conceal', cf. TMEN, no. 1372; Sinor 1996. As pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.), the final sentence in Cl, 152 ('These are the four.'), is not a separate sentence; these words are in apposition to the subjects (Qunan, etc.).

§ **211**. On J̌elme of the Uriangqai (Uriyangqai), one of the 'four hounds', and his father (Old) J̌arči'udai the smith, see § 97, where the events to which Činggis Qan refers are related. For these episodes, cf. also Vlad.[2], 112.

For the form *gūrege* (< *gü'ür<e>ge* ~ *kü'ürge*) '(smith's) bellows', see above, n. 97.

For the refrain 'Who at birth ..., /When growing ...', and the designation 'fortunate and blessed' (*öljeitü qutuqtu*), cf. § 204. See above, nn. 200 and 204.

'Has its origin in the sable swaddling-clothes', lit. 'has as *its* origin the sable swaddling-clothes.'

J̌elme is the ninth commander of a thousand listed in § 202; however, his name is missing in Rašīd al-Dīn's list of these military leaders. As pointed out by Ligeti, this was probably due to his advanced age. Instead of him, his son Yisü Buqa Taiši is listed as the commander of the second unit of a thousand of the left wing. See Li, 173, n. 211. Cf. SL[2], I/2, 270-271.

§ **212**. On the appointment of Tolun of the Qongqotan as chamberlain (*čerbi*), see § 191 and com. He is listed (no. 12) as 'Tolon' among the commanders of a thousand in § 202 (for Tolon instead of Tolun, cf. below the name Turuqan, which in the Chinese sectional summary [Y[2] 9, 7b] is transcribed Toruqan – a common confusion since in Uighur-Mongol script the letters *o* and *u* are identical). According to Rašīd al-Dīn, Tolun was a son of Father Mönglik. See SL[2], I/2, 176, 268. The same source (p. 268) lists him among the commanders of a thousand of the right wing. We are not informed, however, as to the role of his

father and of Turuqan (? Toruqan) to which our text refers. Cf. Li, 173, n. 212. Pao, 51, n. 36, makes Turuqan a brother of Tolun, which is speculative. See Na^2, 305.

'Being one of the two wings of (lit. "from" = "belonging to") your father', i.e. assisting him in the task at hand, namely the 'gathering' (= conquering) of the tribes. Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 9, 7b): 'Because you helped your father in gathering the people, I thereby gave you the title (*or* status) of *čerbi*.'

'You strove together' (*ǰiktüldüǰü*). In the SH, mo. *ǰidkü-* 'to pull; to endevor, strive, exert oneself' (Les., 1049a), occurs in the forms *ǰitkü-* (§ 121), *ǰikdü-* (§ 177), *ǰitgü-* (§ 195), and *ǰiktü-* (§§ 205, 212). Cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 271. Pao's comments on this word (Pao, 50, n. 35) are not pertinent.

'That you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own patrimony*' (*ö'erün oluqsan ǰö'eksen*). For *ǰö'e-* (= mo. *ǰöge-*) 'to amass; to gradually constitute (as one's own patrimony)' in association with *ol-* 'to find', see Mo, 254-255. Cf. §§ 221, 224; above, n. 92, and, especially, below, n. 224.

§ **213**. On the steward (*ba'urči*) Önggür of the Baya'ut, see § 120, where he is mentioned for the first time together with 'the three Toqura'un brothers', i.e. Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un of the J̌alayir tribe, and 'the five Tarqut', i.e. Qada'an Daldurqan and his four brothers. Önggür and the other sons of Mönggetü Kiyan led both the Baya'ut and the Čangši'ut. (For Mönggetü Kiyan, see above, n. 50; Önggür, being his son, was Činggis Qan's first cousin.) Önggür and Boro'ul (~ Boroqul; see above, n. 137) were both put in charge of victuals – an important office. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1970, 420, n. 21. Önggür is the thirteenth commander of a thousand listed in § 202. In SL^2, I/2, 272, he is mentioned as a commander of a thousand of the left wing and the person in charge of food preparation. See Pelliot's long note on Önggür, the Baya'ut and the Čangši'ut in HCG, 79-112. Cf. also Li, 173, n. 213. On the relationship between Mönggetü Kiyan and

Önggür, see W.K. Park in *MH* 2:1994, 48-62. In the present section, the name Toqura'un (§ 120) is in the plural form Toqura'ut, cf. Poppe 1975, 166.

'You … have formed one camp for me', lit. 'You … became one camp for me', i.e. they together made up one circular camp (*güre'en*) when they came to submit to Činggis Qan, then Temüǰin, as related in § 120 (see, ad fin., the reference to Qorči and others who 'also came as one camp').

'In the fight' renders Mongolian *bulqa-tur* (= pmo. *bulγa-dur*) which would normally be translated as 'in the rebellion'; it is in fact glossed thus in the SH (9, 8a: 反亂裏), and is consequently rendered as 'in the revolt' in Cl, 154. However, the meaning of 'fight, battle' of *bulqa* is well attested (see 'Trois documents', 492-493, n. 85) and it does certainly apply here.

For the words 'When it was wet … with me' in the poetic passage, cf. above, § 207.

As on previous occasions, I render the word *soyurqal*, which occurs frequently in these sections, as 'favour' as well as 'reward.'

'Scattered about' renders *bura tara*, an expression of the '*pêle-mêle*' or 'harum-scarum' type which is quite common in Mongolian. The second element is undoubtedly *tara-* 'to disperse, scatter' (Les., 779b); the first element (*bura*) is, I think, chiefly phonetic. This expression is attested in one of the Mongolian documents in the Turfan collection in Berlin (Tuγluγ's rescript of 1352). See MPr, 220 (line 6); MBT, 174 (70r6), where it is rendered 'in alle Richtungen.' Cf. eng. 'hither and thither.' It has also passed into Manchu. See Ligeti 1960, 236-237. Cf. Oz[1], V, 187, n. 4.

For the 'reconstitution' of the Baya'ut tribal grouping whose other leaders – Önggür's 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*) – had evidently been dispersed as a result of the political and military events prior to Činggis Qan's enthronement, and the formation of a Baya'ut contingent which also comprised Čangši'ut tribesmen, all under Önggür's command, cf. Vlad.[2], 65 (where the 'Wangur' in line 7 is a misprint for 'Önggür'); and HCG, 80-82.

'Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, "Yes, be it so!"', lit. 'When he (= Önggür) spoke (*ke'e'sü*), Činggis Qa'an said, "Yes, thus! (*je teyin*)."' For the expression *je teyin*, cf. the expression *je teli* (*deli*) 'Yes, be it so!', lit. 'Yes, that!' = 'Enough of it!' in § 246. See Mo, 173.

'Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take command – a thousand!', i.e. 'with your and their men form a unit of a thousand!' The syntax of the original is awkward: *Baya'ut aqa de'ü-yen či'ulqaǰu či mede minqan*, instead of ... *či minqan mede*. For the expression *minqa(n) mede-* 'to be in charge of a unit of a thousand', cf. § 225 (R, 129, line 8802). However, as suggested by Mostaert (u.n.), the word *minqan* in our sentence must be taken in isolation: it follows the command for emphasis. Therefore, there is no need to amend the text, as some have done, particularly since the corresponding passage in the AT confirms the reading of the SH. See AT[1], 67b: ... *čiγulγaǰu či mede*: *mingγan-i kemebe*: (the copyist's side 'correction' of *kemebe* to *mede* is unwarranted: the *kemebe* of the AT simply stands for the *ke'en* of the SH). Cf. also Γa, 149: ... *čiγulγaǰu či mede. mingγan.*

For the poetic passage beginning 'Do not let it fall short' (*ülü duta'ulun*), see 'Trois documents', 463.

'My throat (lit. "gullet": *qo'olai*) will not choke', i.e. 'I will not choke with sorrow thinking of those who have not received their share of food.' See Mo, 205.

'The large *kumis* pitchers' renders the expression *yeke tüsürge* 'large *tüsürge*.' On the basis of the Chinese gloss and the context of the earlier occurrence of this word in § 130, I take it to mean a 'pitcher' or 'jug' used to pour kumis – '*cruche*' in Mostaert's translation (ibid.). The idea of pouring is implicit since *tüsürge* is a deverbal noun in *-qa*(= *-γa*)*/-ge* of *tüsür-* 'to pour.' Cf. the modern literary meaning of *tüsürge* 'watering can' (Les., 857b). Cf. kh. *tüsrèg* id. The *yeke tüsürge* were the large pitchers or vats containing kumis ready to be served; they were placed on the bench near the entrance of the tent, and are known to us through medieval travellers' accounts. See H.

Serruys in his review of Pao's book (*MS* 24:1965, 478); and Cleaves 1954a, 448, n. 22. The SH does not indicate whether these particular containers were made out of skins, as stated by Serruys, or some other material. 'On the right and left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers' actually means on the right and left of the bench holding the pitchers, i.e. of the wine table. This explains, I think, why the interlinear version glosses the term *tüsürge* as *chiu-chü* 酒局 (here 局 = 具) 'wine service', i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) used for the serving and drinking of wine (= kumis). See above, n. 187. They included, no doubt, also the bench or table holding them. Cf. Cleaves, loc. cit., and his rendering 'the great wine table' in Cl, 154. For Tolun see above, § 212.

'In the centre *of the tent*, facing north' renders *tüblen*, converbum modale of *tüble-* 'to be in the centre facing north.' Cf. mo. *töble-* 'to centralize' (Les., 831b). In Ordos this verb has retained some of its ancient meaning. See DO, 672b: *t'öblö-* 'prendre chacun sa place respective (convives à un banquet).' Do[1], 239, n. 11, regards the words 'facing north' of the Chinese gloss as superfluous; however, the fact that this interpretation of the Mongol term is found in *both* the interlinear version and the sectional summary shows that this was, indeed, the original meaning of the term. See Oz[1], V, 185 (cf., however, Oz[2], II, 94, and 116, n. 5); Cl, 154; Li, 98. On the seating arrangements at Mongolian banquets, see the interesting note by S. Jagchid in Yao-Ja, III, 342, n. 2. Cf. Ja, 323-324, n. 8; Ev-Pop, 292, n. 6. As for the historicity of the whole section, Pelliot, after his detailed investigation of Önggür's career, concluded that 'Le discours de Gengis-khan dans le § 213 de l'*Histoire secrète*, qui a des parties allitérées, peut très bien, comme tant d'autres, être un morceau littéraire inventé de toutes pièces' (HCG, 82).

§ 214. The four 'foundlings' were picked up by Mother Hö'elün in the enemy (in the text, '*other* people's') camps, i.e. in the encampments of the Tatars (Šigi Qutuqu, § 315), Jürkin (Boroqul [~ Boro'ul], § 138), Uduyit Merkit (Küčü [~ Güčü], § 114)

and Tayiči'ut (Kököčü, § 119), where they had been abandoned after the fight.

'She placed you close to (lit. "in, by") her legs (*or* feet?: *köl*)', i.e. to her body, for warmth, under the blanket. See Ev-Pop, 292, n. 7, for the Mongol custom of keeping children and old people warm in bed. Cleaves translates 'in her legs', i.e. between her legs, and explains in a footnote: 'In order to wash you, dress you, comb your hair, etc.' (Cl, 155, and n. 20). Cf. Ra, IX, 114, 132 ('between her legs', i.e. in her lap), following most of the earlier translators. The expression *köl-düriyen dürüǰü* is indeed rather ambiguous and the Chinese sectional summary is of no help; hence the diverging interpretations that we still have today. Cf. Li, 98; Oz^2, II, 94; Če, 201; On, 119. My present rendering is given with some reservations: my earlier rendering or Cleaves' interpretation may still be the correct one.

'She stretched your necks', lit. 'She pulled *you* by your necks.' 'She stretched your shoulders', lit. 'She pulled *you* by your collar-bone (*or* shoulder-blade: *egem*).' 'And made you into adults;/... into men', lit. 'She made you equal with (= to) a man (*gü'ün*);/.../She made you equal with (= to) a male (*ere*).'

'In order to make you the companions for us her sons', where 'companions' renders the Mongolian expression *nökör se'üder*, lit. 'companion-shadow', a '*mot-couple*' about which cf. Mo, 43, 152 (the 'XLV' on p. 272a, 1st line, is a misprint for 'XIV'); Cleaves 1964/65, 65-66, n. 63. For the association of the shadow with companionship, cf., e.g., the saying 'We have no friend (= companion: *nökör*) but our shadow, etc.' in §§ 77, 78.

For the words 'Who knows how many favours ...!', cf. Mo, 159; 'Trois documents', 463-464; Cleaves 1964/65, 60, n. 69.

'When we made swift sorties' (*qurdun ayan-tur*), lit. 'In swift expeditions (= raids).'

'Full of hatred and resentment.' Cf. above, § 136, and n. 149.

'We were taking revenge,/We were requiting the wrong.' Cf. above, §§ 58, 154.

'Escaped' (*qarču*), lit. 'got out.' 'Outcast' (*o'určaq*, w.f. *oγurčaγ*): cf. RH, 79, no. 1: 'oġurčaq'; and SH, §§ 156, 200: *o'orčaq*. See above, n. 156.

'I am a beggar', lit. 'I am a seeker of good *things*' (*sayi eri'ülsün buyu*). For this expression, see Mo, 86.

Iseri, here meaning 'bench' rather than 'bed' as in Pao, 34. Cf. §§ 86, 169, 177. See also *Matériel I*, 64.

'Near the inside of the door', lit. 'at the door-back' (*ala'una*), i.e. in the least honourable place in the tent. Cf. § 165 and com.

The passage 'Tolui, who was five years old ... the eastern side of *my* mother's tent' is translated and discussed in Mo, 129-131. Cf. also Mostaert 1927, 152-153.

'Under his arm', lit. 'in his armpit.'

On the name Altani ('Crimson'), see Cleaves 1949b, 410-411. Besides the important contributions by Pelliot and Cleaves (see ibid.) to the explanation of the name Altani (~ Elteni; cf. Amal ~ Emel), one may add the possibility that this name is the feminine in *-i* (cf. the name Yisüi < *yisü*[*n*] 'nine' + fem. suff. *-i*; see above, n. 155) of the well attested male name Altan ('Gold'; cf. SH, § 51 et passim), in which case its meaning would be 'Goldy' rather than 'Crimson.' Cf. also Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and below, concerning the name of Boroqul's wife and the historicity of the entire episode.

'On the eastern side of *my* mother's tent', i.e. on the side reserved for women. See Mostaert 1927, 153, n. 4.

On the plaits or pigtails (*šibülger ~ šibilger*) worn by Mongol men, see above, § 56 and com.

On the expression *ger-ün ümere* 'north of the tent', see Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

J̌etei of the Mangqut, the brother of Doqolqu Čerbi, is the twenty-third commander of a thousand listed in § 202; he first appears in the SH in § 120.

For *muqular* 'hornless (ox)', cf. above, n. 121.

For the obsolete term *ǰemlen* 'provisions, food', cf. tu. *yemlän-* 'to feed.' On this word, see Hattori 1957; Oz[1], V, 210-211, n. 17.

'On the spot', lit. 'right there' (*mün tende*).

The word *ǰuldu* or, rather, *ǰüldü* (see below), glossed as 'chief merit' (頭功), is also no longer productive in Mongolian. Some scholars regard it as a variant reading of the word *ǰildü*, i.e. the chosen portion of a slaughtered animal (comprising head, trachea, lungs and heart), that we encountered in § 13. See above, n. 13. They point out that *ǰildü ~ ǰüldü* also had the related meaning of 'central, most important; best achievement' and the like. See Do[2], 171, n. 1; TH, 304-305 (= ǰYT, 528-530); Oz[1], V, 211-212, n. 19; El-Ar, 721, n. 17; On, 120, n. 280; Ev-Pop, 292, n. 9. The readings found in the corresponding passages of the AT are ambiguous: *ǰüil-dü* (? for *ǰildü*) in § 13 (AT[1], 5b), and *ǰildu* or *ǰildü* in § 214 (AT[1], 68b: the 'ǰuldu' of ATL, 148, is an error for 'ǰildu'); however, they tend to support the above argument. With regard to the vocalization of this word in § 214, Pe, Ko, L[2], R, Daš, St, as well as Shi and Mu, read *ǰuldu*, whereas Pao, TH, Oz[1], Ba, Га, El-Ar, Če, On and Ev-Pop read *ǰüldü*. Cleaves 1953b (484, n. 3) is uncertain: '*ǰuldu* (? *ǰüldü*).' The word occurs also in Turkic. Cf. čag. '*čuldu*' (DTO, 298; VWTD, III, 2178b) to be read *ǰuldu* (N.P. p.c.) or *ǰüldü* (TMEN, no. 162) 'reward, recompense; present, prize.' However, in Turkic this word does not carry the primary meaning of 'a slaughtered animal's *praecordia*' as the word *ǰildü* does in Mongolian. Although the question of the identity of *ǰildü* and *ǰuldu* (*ǰüldü*) remains open, the evidence is on the whole in favour of reading the word with front vowels and regarding it as a variant of *ǰildü*.

For the words '*Qargil Šira* would have harmed the life of the child', see Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 304.

'The chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani', lit. 'the chief merit was Altani's.' Cf. Cleaves, 1953b, 484, n. 3.

For the expression 'to be (*or* become) the second shaft *of a cart*', meaning 'to assist, be indispensable', see above, n. 186.

'When Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit', lit. 'when Boroqul was fighting with the Kereyit.' For the incident involving Ögödei and Boroqul related in this section, see §§ 172-173.

'Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him', lit. 'Boroqul, dismounting *from his horse* over *him*.' 'Dismounting' (*ba'ulduǰu*) is a reciprocal form in Mongolian because two persons are involved, even if one (Ögödei in this case) is a passive agent.

Pao's 'qaquqsan', 'congealed' (see Pao, 17, 131), is a mistake for 'haquqsan', nomen perfecti of *haq-* (= mo. *aγ-*) 'to dry (up); (for blood) to clot.' The error goes back to HW, 56 ('ḥahḥu' for 'hahḥu'). This verb occurs also in § 145.

'Continuously sucking', lit. 'sucking and sucking.'

'He came bringing Ögödei *back* alive and safe', lit. 'he brought Ögödei's life safe.' See *Lettres*, 61. For the treatment of puncture wounds with sucking blood, see above, n. 145.

'He never tarried/At *my* beck and call,/At my voice and its echo', i.e. 'He served me promptly in all circumstances' – the 'echo' implying an indirect order, when difficult circumstances prevented a direct one.

The dramatic episode of Qargil Šira and Tolui related in § 214 is one of the most dramatic and vivid pages of the SH but, as already noted by other scholars, its historicity – at least in the form presented here – is highly doubtful. To begin with, there are irreconcilable problems of chronology. When the incident reputedly took place, about 1202, Boroqul would still have been a boy, while Tolui was not five (= four by our reckoning), but about twelve years old at the time. Moreover, the wife of Boroqul was not called Altani, but Teküi. See HCG, 375-376; Li, 173, n. 214; Hung 1951, 482. A different and more credible account of the incident is given by Rašīd al-Dīn. According to him, the villain was a Tayiči'ut, not a Tatar, and the heroes who saved the five-year-old Tolui were his mother Börte, the twelve-

year-old Šigi Qutuqu and a sheepdog called Baraq. See SL^2, I/1, 108. While Pelliot is probably right concerning the epic nature of the SH account (of what may have been a real incident), I am of the opinion that the name Altani is not necessarily fictitious: Boroqul's wife may have been known by two names. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1999a, 76 and n. 35.

As Ligeti (loc. cit.) points out, in this section of the SH Boroqul is not referred to as one of Činggis' 'four steeds', nor as a commander of a thousand (no. 15 in § 202) and deputy commander of the right wing under Bo'orču (see above, n. 205; later, Boroqul himself became a commander of ten thousand; see SL^2, I/2, 268).

The section ends with exactly the same words that we read in § 215. Since this is clearly a scribal error, I have omitted them in my translation. However, following in Čendü Güng's footsteps (see Cė, 466), Onon is of the opinion that the words in question represent the actual end of § 214, and that § 215 is an erroneous repetition of the same. Onon also understands these words as meaning 'And again, he said, "As a favour, we shall give our daughters and their descendants to him [i.e. to Boroqul – I.R.] (and his descendants)."' See On, 121 and n. 282 (id. in the 2001 ed., 207 and n. 501). Cf. also Oz^1, V, 214-215, n. 23. In my view, this interpretation is untenable since the redundant words do not appear in the sectional summary of § 214 (Y^2 9, 18b), indicating that the Ming editors did not regard them as part of that section. Moreover, the translation of these words as given in the sectional summary of § 215 (Y^2 9, 19a) is: 'Činggis again said, "Let us give rewards to the daughters!"' The corresponding passage in the AT reads: 'Further, *Činggis Qaγan* said, "Let Us give rewards to the female offspring (*ökin uruq*)!"' (AT^1, 69a). As noted by Cleaves, 'By the words *ökin uruγ* "daughter seed" Činggis meant the female members of his family of which the first and the principal ones, of course, were his own daughters.' See Cl, 157, n. 27. This makes Onon's rendering doubly untenable.

§ 215. This, the shortest paragraph of the SH, is in all likelihood all that is left of a set of ordinances and injunctions concerning grants and rewards to Činggis Qan's daughters and granddaughters. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 518. It is more than probable that they were purposely excised from the original text as a result of political events and internal disputes between the rival branches of Činggis' family – a further indication of later interference with the original text of the SH. The full text is also missing in the AT.

'Let Us reward', lit. 'Let Us give favour(s).' Cf. below, n. 224.

Ökin uruq (= mo. *uruγ*) means, literally, 'daughter's kin (*or* descendants)', i.e. Činggis Qan's female offspring. Cf. above, n. 214.

§ 216. On Old Üsün, Qunan, Kökö Čos and Degei, and their observance of the principle of 'not hiding or concealing', see § 210 and com.

'What they thought and comprehended.' In the text, these two verbs are in inverse order. By 'what they thought' (*setkiksen*) is meant also 'how they *felt* about something', the verb *setki-* (= mo. *sedki-*) meaning not only 'to think', but also 'to feel, be inspired, etc.' Cf. *Lettres*, 93; Les., 680b.

'In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a high ranking personage to become a *beḳi*', lit. 'As for the Mongol tradition (*törö*), it is the custom (*yosun*) that a chief's position (*noyan mör*) becomes *that of beḳi*.' For *mör*, 'path, way, course', meaning also 'official duty or task; position, status, rank', cf. HW, 110; Cleaves 1993, 36, n. 42. For the title *beki*, see above, n. 49; and Ev-Pop, 293, n. 12. Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 9, 20b): 'Now, in (= according to) the Ta-ta (= Mongol) system, the office of *beki* is important.' Strictly speaking, *noyan* designated a military leader, a commander or chief, hence an 'officer'; however, this term was used broadly to designate also a high dignitary, a person in authority, a 'seigneur', i.e. a member of the ruling clan(s), irrespective of whether he had actual

command of troops (e.g., because of his age). See Vlad.[2], 88, 93, 111. Cf. above, n. 8. It appears that Old Üsün, a senior kinsman of Činggis Qan, held no military office. Cf. Li, 174, n. 216. What Činggis Qan says is that Üsün, by virtue of his being a senior kinsman loyal to him (which was not the case with other senior kinsmen, like, for instance, Dāritai Otčigin), should be duly rewarded with the honorary title of *beki*.

'Elder Brother the Ba'arin' (*Ba'arin aqa*) was Ba'aridai (ethnicon of Ba'arin), the eponymous ancestor of the Ba'arin (Bārin) tribe. See § 41. As explained by Mostaert, this Ba'aridai was the son of Činggis' ancestor Bodončar Mungqaq, but whereas Činggis was descended from him through Bodončar's principal wife, Ba'aridai was born from the J̌arči'ut woman captured by Bodončar in a raid (§ 38). Ba'aridai must have been born before Qabiči Ba'atur, hence the respectful designation of *aqa* 'elder brother' employed here by Činggis Qan. See Cl, 157-158, n. 29; Cleaves 1963, 69. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 60-61.

'Who are from among us and senior to Us', lit. '*being* from among and above Us', i.e. being from the same family or kin (*uruq*) as Činggis, but 'higher', i.e. senior to him in age. The sectional summary merely says: 'Üsün, you are a senior descendant of the Ba'arin.' See Y^2 9, 20b. This passage has been understood in various ways by different scholars and, unfortunately, it is not one of those discussed by Mostaert. Cf. Li, 100; Cl, 157-158; Oz[1], V, 219; On, 121 (cf. the 2001 ed., 207).

To wear a white dress, ride a white gelding and sit in an elevated position were marks of high status. For the significance of the colour white for the Mongols, see above, nn. 63, 111, 202. Riding a white gelding was also a special privilege. Cf. Cl, 158, n. 30; and below, n. 239. With regard to the high seat, i.e. the seat of honour, see above, n. 205.

'Yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*. Let it be so!', lit. 'Year*ly* and month*ly* discussing, thus let it be!' Cf. the same expression in § 204, and

Ligeti's pertinent remarks concerning the misinterpretation of this sentence by Haenisch. See Li, 174, n. 216. Ligeti points out that there is an inconsistency in Haenisch's translation of the same words in the two passages (Ha, 93, § 204, and 102, § 216). The same inconsistency is found in Kozin's work (Ko, 160 and 166). Both authors understand the text in § 216 to mean that Činggis would consult Old Üsün on the favourable years and months, i.e. in order to select a favourable one and avoid unlucky ones – through astrology and divination. It is my opinion that Haenisch's incorrect understanding of the sentence has passed into Kozin's translation (probably via HW, 132, s.v. 'sataḫu'); and that, in turn, this translation was uncritically adopted by Damdinsürėn (Da[1], 215; Da[5], 181), whose heavy reliance on Ko is well known, and thence passed on to Ev-Pop (173, 186; 291, n. 68). Ultimately, the cause of the error is found in the Chinese sectional summary itself (Y^2 9, 20b) which, departing somewhat from the earlier rendering (Y^2 8, 34b), translates the Mongolian as follows: 'Choosing a good year and month, I shall consult with you and have you held in great esteem!' (你揀選箇好年月議論了教敬重者). This has mistakenly been interpreted as meaning that (as a soothsayer/shaman) Old Üsün should choose a favourable date for an undertaking. Cf. Pa, 123, 229, nn. 468, 469 (the translation in Wei, 149, is also off the mark); but Palladiĭ himself (op. cit., n. 470) is not certain about the interpretation of the above sentence, which he describes as 'vague' (*neopredelennyĭ*). The Chinese is indeed deceptive, since there is no reference whatever to the 'choice' of a 'good' year and month in the Mongolian text. The rather loose paraphrase of the sectional summary must be understood in the sense that Činggis Qan will consult with Old Üsün (to obtain his advice on actions to take) 'at suitable (lit. "good") times or occasions (lit. "year and month") to be determined (lit. "choosing")', thus stating in effect what Činggis had said also to Father Mönglik in § 204. See Cleaves' rendering 'again, [with his] considering the year and the month[31], let it so be.' (Cl, 158.) Note 31 on the same page reads: 'To determine what

action it might be appropriate to take.' Cf. his translation of the relevant words in § 204: 'consulting [thee] in [each] year or in [each] moon' (Cl, 145). The corresponding passage in AT[1], 69a, is unfortunately so corrupt as to be of no use whatsoever. The ambiguity of the sectional summary has led most translators astray, including Pao. See Pao 35 and 58, n. 68. Cf. also Heissig 1984, 319.

§ 217. This section merely repeats Činggis' decree concerning the grant made to Quyildar's children and descendants mentioned at the end of § 185. For other references to Quyildar's services, see §§ 171 and 175. As stated by Ligeti, the decree has probably been repeated here for the sake of comprehensiveness. See Li, 174, n. 217.

§ 218. The death of Čaqān Qo'a (~ Čaqa'an U'a) of the Negüs (> Ne'üs) is mentioned in § 129, which relates how he was killed by J̌amuqa at Dalan Balǰut and his head dragged about attached to the tail of J̌amuqa's horse.

On Narin To'oril (= pmo. Toγoril, cf. above, n. 96), see HCG, 417, 421-422; Vlad.[2], 136; Li, 174, n. 218; Bese 1974, 94.

'Was fighting zealously', lit. 'was fighting exerting himself (*kiči'eǰü*).' For the verb *kiči'e-* (~ *kičiye-*) 'to exert oneself, to apply oneself with zeal', cf. HW, 101; TMEN, no. 350; 'Quelques problèmes', 258 (4); and above, n. 202.

For the grant of the bounty to orphans, cf. §§ 185 and 217. For Narin To'oril's request to gather his scattered tribesmen, and for his hereditary appointment as their leader, cf. the same request by Önggür in § 213, where almost identical language is used.

'To this', lit. 'being told *so*.'

In this, as in earlier sections (cf. §§ 208, 212), negative rhetorical questions are used in place of the imperative. Cf. §§ 203, 213: *či mede*.

§ 219. The famous episode that Činggis re-evokes is the one narrated in §§ 85-87. For the Tayiči'ut 'kinsmen' (*aqa de'ü*),

see § 76 and com. This is the first time that a reason, viz. jealousy, is given for the Tayiči'ut's hostility towards Činggis Qan, then Temüǰin. This 'jealousy' was due (as stated earlier) to the threat posed by Yisügei Ba'atur's son to the chief of Tayiči'ut's claims to the leadership of the Mongol clans. See above, n. 71. Sorqan Šira of the Suldus later joined J̌amuqa's camp, but eventually rallied to Činggis, as related in § 146, and Činggis accepted his explanation for his belated allegiance. However, he does not miss the opportunity of reminding him of this fact when he rewards him now for his services. Sorqan Šira is the twenty-seventh commander of a thousand listed in § 202, but his sons, strangely enough, are not listed among them, and were probably not appointed (Rašīd al-Dīn does not mention any of them, not even Sorqan Šira, among the army commanders), even though Čila'un was one of the 'four steeds.' See Li, 174, n. 219. Cf. HCG, 153, 157. As rightly noted by Cleaves, the story as told in § 219 is somewhat at variance with the account in § 85, where it is stated that only Čimbai and Čila'un, displeased with their father's words, made their younger sister Qada'an look after Temüǰin. See Cl, 159, n. 35.

The verb *darqala-* 'to be (= enjoy the privilege of being) a *darqan* ("freeman")' combined with *nuntuq* (= tu. *yurt*), i.e. the territory reserved for transmigration or 'terrain de transhumance' (Vlad.[2], 52, n. 1, 70 et passim; cf. TMEN, no. 1914), or with *nuntuqla-* 'to set up a camp, to settle in a (particular) grazing ground', means 'to freely establish a camp *or* to encamp as a freeman', i.e. to settle on, and make use of, a particular territory for grazing and hunting purposes without paying any of the dues to the ruler – the *darqan* being 'free' by definition from such obligations. For the special grant to Sorqan Šira and his sons, cf. Vlad.[2], 87; and Ratchnevsky 1987, 106. On the institution of *darqan* and the freeman's privileges, see above, n. 51.

'The territory of the Merkit on the Selengge *River*', lit. 'the Selengge – the territory (*or* country) of the Merkit.'

For the conferment of the hereditary privilege to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine (*ötök*), see § 187 and com. concerning Badai and Kišiliq.

'The words that you, Čila'un and Čimbai, once spoke', i.e. the very words reported in § 85 that saved Činggis Qan's life.

'How will you be satisfied?' (*ker qandaqu*), i.e. 'what can I do to satisfy (= recompense) you?' This simple question has caused much debate and controversy on account of the word *qandaqu* (the 'handaqu' of Pe, 86, is an incorrect transcription; cf. ibid., n. 1), nomen futuri of the verb *qanda-* which has been variously rendered as 1) 'to forget' (Na^2, Ha, Ko, Da^5, Li, Cl and others); 2) 'to ignore' (Mu, Pao, Ra, Ta); 3) 'to treat (= recompense)' (Do^1, Ma); 4) 'to be satisfied' (TH, $Oz^{1,2}$, El-Ar, On); 5) 'to face (= address)' (Če, Ev-Pop). The first interpretation is based on the free rendering of the sentence in question in the sectional summary (Y^2 9, 27a): 'How could *I* forget *them*?' (如何忘得; but see below my comments on the meaning of this sentence). The second, on SH *qanda-* = mo. *qandu-* (cf. kh. and bur. *xanda-*) 'to turn away (from something)', i.e. to pretend not to know, to ignore. Cf. Kow., 725a: 'détourner (les yeux), se détourner; prendre une autre direction.' The third interpretation is based on another meaning of *qandu-* (*xanda-*) in the living languages, viz. 'to treat.' See, e.g., MED, 427a (2). The fourth, on the assumption that SH *qanda-* is the passive form in *-da-* of mo. *qan-* (*qang-*, *qanu-*) 'to be satisfied.' See Oz^1, V, 238-239, n. 8; and On, 123 and n. 285. Finally, the fifth is likewise based on SH *qanda-* = *qandu-* taken, however, in the sense of 'to face' → 'to address.' Cf. Les., 928a; MKT, 539b; MED, 427a (1). It should be noted that the Chinese gloss is rather puzzling, *qandaqu* being rendered with the expression *man li ti* 滿立的, lit. 'which stands full.' In Ra (IX, 137), I expressed the opinion that the character *man* 滿 is an error for *man* 瞞 'to close the eyes, conceal the truth, deceive', so that this expression should be understood as 'that stands closing the eyes', i.e. purposely disregarding or ignoring. On

the other hand, Ozawa and Onon regard *li* 立 as an error for *tsu* 足, the second element in the common compound *man-tsu* 'to be satisfied.' The AT[1], 70a, has the corrupt form *aγdaqu* for *qandaqu* (see ATL, 152), thus confirming the SH reading. Now, mo. *qan-* 'to be satisfied' occurs three times in the SH, twice in the factitive form *qangqa-* (= mo. *qangγa-*) (§§ 145, 177), and once in the form *qang-* (§ 272), i.e. always as *qang-*, not *qan-*. See HW, 59, and 101, s.v. 'kibḥangḥun' (= *kib qangqun*). Furthermore, the interpretation 'to be satisfied' is unsupported by the sectional summary. One can point out that ch. *wang* 忘 'to forget' is also used in the sense of 'to neglect, be unmindful of', and that this may well be the way it should be understood in the sectional summary ('how can *I* neglect [= ignore] *them* [i.e. your words]?'). Cf. DCLC, 309a; CED, 1043b, no. 7036. Other arguments can be put forth in favour or against any of the above interpretations. Indeed, A. Mostaert (u.n.) has even hypothesized '*qanda-* pour *handa-* [cf. Pe, 86! – I.R.] = *anda-* = *ende-* "laisser échapper à son attention"; cf. lettre d'Ölǰeitü, l. 11. Cf. aussi § 200 *endegü. Andaγu ~ endegü*?' However, after having again reviewed all the published material, and on the grounds that 1) an emendation 滿足的 is definitely better than 瞞立的, and 2) one of the meanings of kalm. *xanda-*, previously unknown to me, is 'to be satisfied' (see KaRS, 575a [3]), I have now adopted, albeit with some reservations, the interpretation proposed by TH and Oz[1]. This being so, the expression in Mongolian must be read *ker qandaqu ta* instead of *ker qandaqu*, i.e. with the pronoun *ta* 'you' belonging to *qandaqu*, not to the following sentence, as correctly punctuated in Pe, ibid., but not in St, 110, line 9250.

'What you have in mind', lit. 'your thoughts', i.e. 'your wishes.'

'An intermediary', lit. 'a between-person (= middle-man)' (*ǰa'ura gü'ün*).

'You in person', lit. 'You, by (= with) your own bodies (= persons)' (*ö'erün beyes-iyer … ta*). For *ö'esüt* 'yourselves, personally (pl.)', cf. DO, 541b.

For the poetic passage in this section, cf. the almost identical words of § 187. See above, n. 187.

For *haran* 'retainer', cf. the expression *haran tutqar* '*subject* people and servants' in § 39.

On Yeke ('Big') Čeren, see §§ 51, 169; he is not to be confused with the homonymous Tatar chief of §§ 154-156.

'With my support' rather than 'you be my support', as understood by other translators (see, e.g., Če, 206, and Ev-Pop, 152), in view of the sectional summary paraphrase (Y^2 9, 27a): 'Now, relying on me (= with my support), live happily!' (如今教倚仗着我快活者). For *turuq* 'prop, support', cf. above, n. 167. Do^1, 244, 246, n. 7, renders *turuq* as 'right-hand men' (股肱) – an unwarranted extrapolation.

§ **220**. Old Širgōtü (a contracted form of Širgü'etü; see below) of the Ničügüt Ba'arin (Bārin), with his two sons Alaq ('Mottled') and Naya'a (i.e. the Nayā Noyan of § 197), had been responsible for the capture and subsequent release of their former chief Tarqutai Kiriltuq, a leader of the Tayiči'ut tribe. The event, which is recalled here by Činggis Qan, is described in detail in § 149. Činggis at one point calls Širgōtü's second son Naya'a Bilǰi'ur, i.e. Naya'a the Lark (for the meaning of *bilǰi'ur* ~ *bildu'ur*, see above, n. 160). The origin of this sobriquet is obscure, but it may have something to do with the episode of Qulan Qatun's 'abduction' described in § 197. See Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 162. The reference to the locality Qutuqul Bend (Qutuqul Nu'u), which is also mentioned in the original account in § 149, has been inadvertently left out in Cl, 259b (Index).

The 'great principle' (*yeke törö*) is not spelled out in the text, as is also the case in § 208 (and with *yeke yosu* 'the great norm' in § 252), because its meaning was obvious to Činggis' contemporaries. It is clear from the context that it refers always

to the cardinal principle of the *ǰasaq* governing the relationship and mutual obligations of lord (*qan*) and subject, and, specifically (in the present instance), to the loyalty due to one's chief. See above, n. 208. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473 and n. 10.

'I shall entrust him with an *important* task.' This statement is recorded in § 197 ad fin. There the text has *yeke üyile* (= *üile*), lit. 'a great matter', the reference being to his appointment as commander of the ten thousand of the centre, which is formally conferred on him in the present pronouncement. However, in our passage we have *niken üyile* 'a task' instead of *yeke üyile*. I think that the word *niken* is almost certainly an early scribal error (which has passed also into the text of the AT, see AT[1], 71a) for *yeke*, the two words bearing a very close resemblance to each other. In their written form, *yeke* and *nige(n)* (= mmo. *nike*[*n*]) are virtually indistinguishable.

With regard to his career, Naya'a is listed as the thirty-second commander of a thousand in § 202 (Alaq is the twenty-sixth). Furthermore, according to the SH, he was appointed to one of the highest positions in the army, that of commander of the division or myriarchy of the centre (*tüb-ün tümen*) – one, and the most important, of the three divisions of the Mongol army, the others being the myriarchy of the left or east wing (*ǰe'ün qar-un tümen*) and the myriarchy of the right or west wing (*bara'un qar-un tümen*). For *tüb* (= mo. *töb*) 'centre, middle' as a military term, cf. TMEN, no. 995. Naya'a's appointment, however, is not recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn, who mentions Naya'a only as one of the commanders of a thousand of the left wing and as a deputy of Muqali, whom he replaced as commander of the left wing after Muqali's death in 1223. See SL[2], I/2, 272. On the appointment of Bo'orču and Muqali, see §§ 205 and 206.

Old Širgõtü or Širgü'etü was the great-grandfather of the famous general Bayan of the Bārin. See Cleaves 1956, 194 and 202-203, n. 3, also on the various forms of Širgõtü's name. For the name Alaq, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

§ 221. J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, two of the 'four hounds' of Činggis Qan and prominent military leaders, are naturally included in the list of § 202 (nos. 48 and 52). This section deals mainly with Činggis' order concerning the composition of their two units to the effect that these should be formed with men of their own tribes (Besüt and Uriangqai) of whom they were already in charge or, as the SH puts it, whom they themselves had 'acquired (*or* assembled) and constituted *as their own patrimony*.' For this expression, see above, n. 212, and below, n. 224. As noted in Li, 175, n. 221, Rašīd al-Dīn lists Sübe'etei among the commanders of a thousand of the left wing, but not J̌ebe. See SL^2, I/2, 272.

§ 222. The 'shepherd' (on this epithet see below) Degei was a Besüt like J̌ebe, and first appears in § 120 as the brother of Küčügür and one of the early allies of Činggis Qan after the latter's separation from J̌amuqa. See also above, n. 210. He is the eleventh commander in the list in § 202.

'Unregistered households' renders *bükde'ül* (= pmo. *bügdegül*; cf. AT^1, 71a: *bügdügül* < *bügdegül*), a term that occurs only once in the SH, where it is glossed *mai-mo* 埋沒 'conceal(ed)' (the 埋沒 in HW, 21, is a misprint), and the term is explained as 'unregistered people' (無戶籍的百姓) in the sectional summary (Y^2 9, 30a). *Bükde'ül* is a deverbal noun in -*'ül* (/-*'ul*; see JŚ, 53-54, § 80; GWM, 46, § 153) from *bükde-* 'to be hidden.' For *bük-* (= pmo. *büg-*) 'to hide, conceal; to lie in ambush', see HW, 21. It corresponds to mo. *büggü-* id. (see Les., 145a) and kh. *büg-* id. Thus *bükde'ül* literally means 'the concealed people' as a category or class of individuals. They included, no doubt, the many vagrant tribesmen or 'outcasts' (*o'orčaq* ~ *o'určaq*) mentioned in the SH (§§ 156, 200, 214), that had become homeless as a result of the breaking-up of their tribes by Činggis Qan. Cf. MI, 117 and n. 3; ISK, 149ff.; Vlad.^{2}, 141; and above, n. 214.

Regarding the epithet 'shepherd' (*qoničï*) given to Degei, see § 124, where Degei, declaring in what capacity he would serve the newly elected *qan*, says that he would 'tend the sheep.'

§ **223**. The 'carpenter' Güčügür is none other than Degei's brother Küčügür mentioned with Degei in § 120. See above, n. 120, and n. 141 about his name. In § 124 he pledged to serve Činggis as manager of the tent-carts, hence his epithet of 'carpenter' (*moči*). Cf. the use of *moči* as a sobriquet *prefixed* to the name in the case of Moči Bedü'ün in § 120. Cf. also above, n. 209. Činggis' order is to the effect that a unit of a thousand was to be constituted for Küčügür, who had just been appointed a commander of a thousand (see § 202, no. 34), by levying a sufficient number of men from other commanders who had plenty (lit. 'from here and there'), the idea of gathering them in this way being regarded as equivalent to an exaction or levy, a meaning which is implicit in the verb *qubči-* used in this passage. For a discussion and translation of the entire § 223, see Mo, 131-135. Cf. also ibid., 256, for Mostaert's further remarks on the meaning of *qubči-*.

Mulqalqu of the J̌adaran was also mentioned in § 124 among those appointed to supervise the horseherds, but no separate military unit was assigned to him in 1206. He is now going to share the command of one with Küčügür (Güčügür). For other examples of joint leadership, see §§ 191, 209, 212, 225. Cf. Vlad.[2], 141. Mulqalqu is commended by Činggis for having been a 'perfect' (*ǰük-iyer*) companion to him. For the expression *ǰük-iyer* (= pmo. *ǰüg-iyer* or, more accurately, *ǰu̧g-iyer*), lit. 'in a befitting manner', see Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 34; idem 1950, 108, n. 25; and 'Trois documents', 466.

§ **224**. This, with §§ 191-192, is the most important section dealing with the early military system of Činggis Qan and the restructuring of the Guard (*kešik*). See above, n. 191, and the references given in n. 202 on the establishment of the one-thousand-man units. Further references will be given below.

The subject of the first long sentence in the text (*Ulus bayi'ululčaqsat … bolǰu*) is Činggis Qan, who is mentioned immediately after as the subject of the next sentence (*Činggis Qa'an ǰarliq bolurun …*). For stylistic reasons, in my translation I have transposed the subject to the beginning of the first sentence and divided the single sentence into several.

The formation of decimal units up to one thousand (*minqan*), following the model of the Kereyit army, is mentioned in § 191; one new development in the 1206 reorganization is the formal establishment of the three units of ten thousand or myriarchies (*tümen*), with their specific territorial control, and the appointment of their leaders. On the earlier *tümen*, see the remarks above, n. 104. Such comprehensive reorganization was determined also by the pressing need of breaking up the old clan ties and loyalties, as rightly pointed out by R. Hamayon (Hamayon 1979, 119 and n. 8). Cf. Vlad.[2], 139 and 156-158. The massive restructuring of the army is likewise intimately related to the rewards and commendations given by Činggis to his loyal followers which began in Chapter Eight and continue in the present one. I translate *soyurqal ǰarliq bol-*, lit. 'to order favour', as 'to commend.' For *soyurqal* 'favour, grace' → 'gracious deed, reward, privilege', see Murakami 1961, 311ff.; and above, n. 147.

With regard to the earlier recruitment of eighty nightguards (*kebte'ül*) and seventy dayguards (*turqa'ut*) to serve as bodyguards on roster (*kešigten*), see § 191 and com. for numerous references to the literature on the subject. In view of Činggis' exalted position now as supreme leader of all the tribes, i.e. of all the people of Mongolia, a much stronger contingent of picked warriors is called for to serve as bodyguards, attendants and service personnel. The rules and regulations governing the appointment of these élite guards form the substance of the present section, most of which has been translated by Cleaves (before the publication of Cl) in Cleaves 1953, 46, n. 7; idem 1952, 108, n. 168; and by Mostaert in Mo, 256-257. For an important discussion of various technical terms and expressions

in this section, see the references given above, n. 191, and especially Mo, 250-257. For an excellent outline of the system in the early period, see YTSHT, 63-71, as well as MEYD, 36-38. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 156-158; and YShi, 78-80.

Činggis claims that now, by the strength (*or* might) of Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür*), his own power has been increased by Heaven and Earth (*tenggeri qaǰar-a güčü auqa nemegdeǰü*), and so he has brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under his sole rule (*gür ulus-i šidurqutqaǰu qaqča ǰilu'a-duriyan oro'uluqsan*). We encounter here, for the first time, the well-known 'initial formula' – i.e. the one often occurring at the beginning of Mongol decrees and official documents in the 13th century – *möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür* (= pmo. *mọngke tngri-yin küčün-dür* [or *küčündür*]), about which much has been written. See 'Trois documents', 485-486; *Lettres*, 18-20; Hamilton 1972, 160-162; Cleaves 1979, 68; *Matériel II*, 19-20, 90-93. See also below, n. 275. I think that Hamilton, loc. cit., has convincingly shown that 1) the expression *küčün-dür* (SH *güčün-tür*) is a literal rendering of tu. *küčintä* 'thanks to (*or* by reason of) the strength' → 'from, through, because of, by' (cf. DTS, 323b); 2) the Chinese translation of *küčün-dür*, *ch'i-li li* 氣力裏, lit. 'in the strength', is a mere calque of the Mongolian expression and cannot, therefore, be understood in its literal sense; *ergo* 3) *küčün-dür* can only mean 'by (instr. = "thanks to, relying on, by means of") the strength', and not 'in (dat.-loc.) the strength.' We may add that, irrespective of the calque in the present instance, the use of the dative-locative for the instrumental, although rare in the ancient language, it is by no means unknown. See above, n. 152, for an example of this usage in the SH. And, with regard to the Chinese mechanical rendering of the Mongolian dative-locative with 裏, it is worth noting that in the case of the dativus actoris in passive constructions – grammatically indistinguishable from an instrumentalis actoris – the Chinese version also regularly employs *li*. A good example of the convergence of the

dative-locative with the instrumental case (which, incidentally, is also reflected in English) is found in the HIIY, IIa, 19v, 2: *qahan* (= *qa'an*) *anu qaraču tüšimel-ün qar-tur qoroqdabasu* 'When … their emperor was harmed (= was killed) at the hands of (= by) a common official', glossed in Chinese as 皇帝他的下人臣的手裏害被呵. Cf. *Matériel I*, 6, 21. No one would dispute that the idiomatic expression 'at (dat.: 裏) the hands of' = 'through (instr.) the action or agency of.' For the role of Heaven and Earth in supporting Činggis' actions and 'increasing his strength', cf. §§ 113, 121, 125, 201, 208, 254, 260, 281. For the '*mot-couple*' *gučü auqa*, lit. 'strength – power' = 'power', see above, n. 199. For the expression 'to cause them (i.e. the entire people) to come under my sole rule' (*qaqča ǰilu'a-duriyan oro'ul-*), lit. 'to cause them to enter into my only reins (= control, rule)', cf. § 208 and com. See Cleaves 1952, 108, n. 168. For an earlier reference to the bringing to allegiance of the people, i.e. of the various tribes of Mongolia, and the establishment of a unified nation in connection with the new military appointments, see § 202. Cf. also J̌amuqa's words in § 201.

The entire passage from 'Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands' to 'as well as to the sons of ordinary people." So he ordered.' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 250-257. The following are some additional comments on this passage. 'The various thousands', lit. 'the thousands and thousands.' 'To serve by Our side', i.e. to personally attend to Činggis Qan's needs and safeguard his person. The 'ordinary people' (*düri-yin gü'ün*) are the people of ordinary status already mentioned in § 191. See above, n. 191. For the particle *gü*, used again here with the meaning of 'also, likewise', see above, n. 117. For the '*mot-couple*' *ula'a* (see above, n. 199) *gučü* 'mount, a riding horse requisitioned for such use', cf. Mo, 43, 254. 'They have personally acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*' (*inu beye qad-iyar oluqsan ǰö'eksen*): for the understanding of this

sentence, and the expression *beye qat* (= pmo. *beye qad*) 'body, person', see Cleaves 1949, 126-127, n. 222; idem 1953, 78, n. 7; Mo, 242 and n. 224, 257, n. 244; and above, n. 212. 'Independently of (lit. "apart from") their personal share *of goods*' (*inu emčü qubi-ača anggida*). For these words, see Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7; Mo, 246, n. 232, 257, n. 244. Cf. also Haenisch 1961, 146.

'The numerous *ordinary* people' (*olon gü'ün*) are the *duri-yin gü'ün* mentioned earlier.

'Who have received this order of Ours', lit. 'having caused one to deliver this Our order *to them*.'

'Anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' See above, n. 203.

For the sentence 'As to the people ... out of *Our* sight', see Mo, 243-244, n. 228. Cf., however, the somewhat different interpretations of this sentence in Pao, 38-39; Oz[1], V, 269-271, n. 12; On, 125; Če, 209; and Ev-Pop, 190. See also Waley 1960, 528. 'To send *a person* to a distant place out of sight' (*nidün-ü ečine qolo qaǰar-a ile-*) is a paraphrase for 'to banish.'

'In order to learn', lit. 'saying that they would learn.'

§ 225. This section is a continuation of the ordinance on the appointment of the dayguards, the nightguards and their commanders. For the earlier appointment of the eighty nightguards (*kebte'ül*), see §§ 191 and 192.

'He brought *their number* up to', lit. 'he made *them* into.'

'Make up a full thousand', lit. 'fill a thousand', i.e. to form a unit of a thousand (*minqa*). Cf. §§ 207, 224.

Yeke Ne'ürin (AT[1], 72b: Yeke Negürin), the officer appointed as commander of the thousand nightguards, appears here for the first and only time in the SH. He is not mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn.

Whereas the earlier appointment of the eighty nightguards is recorded in the SH, there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers; however, their duties are set out in § 192. Yisün Te'e is the same personage as Yisün Tö'e of § 278.

His name means 'Nine Spans' (*yisün* 'nine'; *te'e* < *tö'e* 'span'). This son of J̌elme reappears in §§ 230 and 234. He is mentioned in both the Chinese and Persian sources. See YS[2] 3, 45; SL[2], I/2, 267, 269; *Successors*, 138, 139, 180, 204, 213. He was executed in Möngke's post-election purges in 1251. Tüge, the Tüngge of § 137 and Tüge of § 202 (no. 10 in the list of commanders of a thousand), was the eldest son of Čila'un Qayiči, himself the second son of Telegetü Bayan of the J̌alayir and uncle of Muqali. See above, n. 137. Thus, Tüge or Tüngge was Muqali's first cousin. On the variants of Tüge's name, see ibid. For Bügidei (~ Bükidei), see also §§ 230, 234 and 278.

'The various companies', lit. 'companies and companies' (*kešik kešik*). Cf. Cl, 164: 'the diverse companies'; On, 125: 'shift (by) shift.' For *kešik* 'company' or, more precisely, 'section ou compagnie alternantes de la garde', i.e. a 'watch', see Mo, 247.

Horqudaq, the leader of the third quiverbearers company, is also mentioned with Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei and Labalqa (~ Lablaqa) in § 278. Neither Horqudaq nor Lablaqa is mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn.

'*These four* shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies, etc.' This difficult passage is rendered differently by most translators. See Pao, 67-68, n. 95; Cl, 164; On, 125-126; Oz[2], II, 107; Če, 209; Ev-Pop, 190. To understand what the author means, we must take into account the similar passage in § 278, which runs as follows: *Basa qorčin-i Yisün Tö'e Bükidei Horqudaq Labalqa dörben kešik kešik bolun qor aqsaqui-a turqa'ud-un dörben kešik kešik-tür ačid-un qorčin-iyan ǰasaǰu oroldutuqai ke'en ǰarliq bolba.* 'Further, he (Ögödei Qa'an) ordered, "As to the quiverbearers, Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa (= Lablaqa), forming four separate companies and marshalling (*ǰasaǰu*) their quiverbearers of the bodyguards (*ačit*), they shall respectively join (*oroldutuqai*) the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers (*qor aqsaqui-a*)."' The meaning of the passage is that the four companies (*kešik*) of quiverbearers led by Yisün Tö'e, etc. –

each company comprising two hundred and fifty men with Yisün Tö'e as commander-in-chief – were to join (lit. 'enter in, enrol') the four companies of dayguards (*turqa'ut*), each comprising two thousand men (on the establishment of the eight-thousand-strong dayguards force, see § 226), and share guard duties with them in the daytime. The reason for this move is given in both passages as *qor aqsaqui-a*, i.e. 'in order to carry (lit. "put on, attach") quivers'; in other words, in order that the dayguards, who did not carry quivers, had serving with them quiver-bearing guards – an élite group of warriors that would strengthen their effectiveness and overall capacity. At sunset, on completion of their dayguard duty (*üdür-ün yabudal*), the quiverbearers were to retire for the night, *leaving their quivers* with the incoming nightguards. See § 229.

§ 226. This section deals with the reorganization of the dayguards (*turqa'ut*), whose number had earlier (§ 191) been fixed at seventy, with Ögele Čerbi and Qudus Qalčan as joint commanders (lit. '*acting* in consultation with each other').

'Bringing *the number of* dayguards …up to a full thousand', lit. 'on top of the dayguards … filling a thousand.' Cf. above, n. 225.

In the SH, Ögele (Čerbi) ~ Ögöle ~ Ögölei ~ Ögölen. See above, n. 120. Oz[1], V, 227, has adopted the incorrect reading 'Ögere.' 'From the family of Bo'orču' (*Bo'orču-yin uruq-ača*): see § 120, where it is stated that Ögölen Čerbi was Bo'orču's 'younger brother' (= cousin).

Buqa was Muqali's younger brother. See §§ 137, 227, 234 and 239. He must not be confused (as in Na[2], 280) with Buqa Güregen (no. 81 in the list in § 202), who was a Baya'ut. See HCG, 84-85, 370.

Alčidai is the younger brother (or cousin?) of Ilügei (no. 5 in § 202) of the J̌alayir tribe. He is not to be confused with the homonymous nephew of Činggis Qan – the son of his younger brother Qači'un – on whom see below, n. 242. See SL[2], I/1, 95. Our Alčidai was executed with Yisün Te'e (Tö'e) and others in

1251. See YS^2 3, 45; HWC, 580, 583; *Successors*, 66, 89, 211, 224, 264. His name is sometimes written Elčidei or Eljidei owing to the ambiguity of the Chinese and Persian transcriptions, and because there were several personages by this name. There is much confusion about these names, which makes identification difficult. See Li, 175, n. 227; *Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n. 1. On him, cf. also MPa, 171-172, n. 3; NMP, II, 642; and below, nn. 255 and 277.

Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi were last mentioned in § 210. For the order in which these chamberlains appear in the SH, cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64. For the erroneous statement concerning Doqolqu Čerbi's family in SL^2, I/2, 272, see HCG, 353; Li, 175-176, n. 227.

Čanai, from the line of the Uru'ut chief Jürčedei (see § 130; last mentioned in § 209), will become a post-stations commissioner under Ögödei. See §§ 234, 279. His possible identification with the famous chancellor Čingqai (ca. 1169-1252), proposed in BNMAUT^1, 401, n. 1, is groundless.

Aqutai (AT^1, 73a: Aγutai) is mentioned again in § 234. On him, cf. MWESC 23, 5b; and Cleaves' remarks in Cleaves 1951, 23, n. 118.

Alči is probably Alči Noyan, Dei Sečen's eldest son and brother of Börte, but his identification with the Alči mentioned in §§ 202 (no. 71) and 253 is not certain, since Alči Noyan may well be the same person called Alči Güregen in § 202 (nos. 86, 87, 88), as suggested in Na^2, 281-282. See Pelliot 1935, 908-917 (esp. pp. 909, 916-917); and *TP* 21:1922, 67. Cf. Cleaves 1951, 15 and 23, n. 118.

As for the last commander of the dayguards, Arqai Qasar, in 1203-1204 he had already been appointed leader of an élite one-thousand-man corps which on the battlefield was to fight before Činggis Qan, and in time of peace was to serve as dayguards. See § 191. On 'the many days *of peace*', see above, n. 191.

'Attached to Us', lit. 'in the presence of Us' (*bidanu ča'ada*), since they were regarded as 'personal guards' (*emčü kešikten*), as clearly stated in § 231. For the word *ča'ada* (=

pmo. *čaγada*; cf. AT[1], 73a, and ATL, 158), see de Rachewiltz 1997/98.

For the term *yeke qol* 'the main body *of the army*', cf. above, nn. 142, 170, and below, n. 247. With the establishment of the eight units of a thousand of the dayguards and the appointment of their commanders, an eight-thousand-man force was formed which, with the 'enrolment' of the two thousand nightguards and quiverbearers (1000 + 1000; see § 225), constituted the ten-thousand-man division, or myriarchy, known as *qol* or *yeke qol*. In this way, the Guard (*kešik*), as the *yeke qol*, became the main nucleus or central core of the whole Mongol army (*čerik*). This was a major innovation. See MEYD, 37ff.

§ **227**. In this section we have the ordinance concerning the appointment of senior officers, called *ötögüs*, lit. 'elders', in charge of the four two-thousand-man strong companies of guards (*kešik*) who were to serve on a three days' roster. As we have seen (§ 225), they were assisted by the four two-hundred-and-fifty-man strong companies of quiverbearers. The four 'elders' were the above-mentioned Buqa, Alčidai, Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi, chosen from the commanders of the eight units of dayguards. See § 226.

'After spending three *days and* nights with them' (*qurban qonolduǰu*). This statement has been incorrectly understood as meaning simply 'three nights' by the authors of the sectional summary (Y[2] 9, 44a), as well as by Haenish (Ha, 106), followed by several other scholars (Po, 168; Li, 104; Cl, 165; On, 126; and LDAT, 160) including all the Japanese and Chinese translators. The meaning is 'three full days', even though, strictly speaking, *qono-* is 'to spend the night.' See above, n. 80. However, most Western translators, beginning with Kozin, have understood the text correctly. See Ko, 170; Te, 152; Ka, 145; Ta, 159; Fe, 143; Ev-Pop, 192. Indeed, given the context, no other interpretation is possible.

'A member of the Guard', lit. 'a man of the Guard' (*kešiktü gü'ün*). For this expression, see Mo, 247.

'That has so failed', lit. 'that has failed to take his turn of duty.'

'Shall be disciplined', lit. 'let one teach him', as in 'to teach a lesson.'

The passage 'If a member of the Guard … out of *Our* sight', has been translated and discussed in Mo, 241-249. For the expression 'to send someone to a distant place, out of sight', i.e. to banish him, see above, n. 224.

The second ordinance in this section, regarding punishment (from beatings to banishment) for those who fail in their guard duty, is quoted almost verbatim in § 278. See Mo, 239-241.

'Every third turn of duty' (*quta'ar quta'ar*), i.e. every third shift, each shift (as just indicated in the ordinance) remaining on duty for three days. Cf. H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 479 (reviewing Pao's translation). In § 278 it is further specified that the proclamation of the order takes place when the guards are relieved.

'Who have enrolled *as guards* equal (*sača'u*) *to you*', i.e. who, in their status as members of the Guard (*kešikten*), are equal to their chiefs, the company elders. This point is missed if one translates *sača'u* (= mo. *sačaγu*) merely as 'equal in rank' (Ha, 107; Li, 104), since the elders were obviously superior in rank to the ordinary guards. Cf. Mu, III, 47.

'Merely on the ground of seniority', lit. 'only (*ele*) saying that (= because) they are excelled *by you* in seniority (= command)', i.e. 'only because you are their seniors (*or* superiors in rank; see below).' Cf. Cleaves 1953, 80, n. 12. For the use of *ele* 'only, simply' twice in this section, cf. Street 1986, 21-22 (36). Cf. also Pelliot 1949, 624, n. 28. As for the obsolete verb *hončit-* (*onǰit-* in § 278) 'to reprimand', cf. Pelliot 1925, 221, no. 43; Oz[1], V, 298, n. 10.

'If *any of them* breaks the law' (*ǰasa*[*q*] *könde'esü*), i.e. if they transgress any of the principles and rules of the *ǰasaq* with regard to their duties. For the expression *ǰasaq könde-*, cf. Cleaves 2001a, 48-49, n. 79. See also on this issue, Pėrlėė 1962, 29-31; Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 8; idem 1987, 106; de

Rachewiltz 1993, 98-100. As evident from the text of the SH and the above discussions, a breach of the ordinances concerning the Guard constituted a violation of the *ǰasaq*, which was to be expected since the safety and protection of the *qan* depended entirely on the loyalty and reliability of his Guard. Cf. the same regulations to this effect repeated in § 278.

'Those liable to execution', lit. 'those whom it is proper (i.e. according to the *ǰasaq*) to execute.' For *mököri'ül-* 'to execute, cut down', cf. above, n. 149.

'If you yourself, ..., lay hands ... and strike', lit. 'If, causing your own hands – feet (= hands) to reach ... you strike.' For the '*mot-couple*' *qar köl* 'hands', see above, n. 189.

'You shall be repaid with strokes of the rod ... with fists', i.e. with an equal number of strokes and with an equal number of blows. For the final passage of this section, cf. Mo, 110.

§ **228**. By 'the outside (*qadanadus*) commanders of a thousand (hundred, ten)' are meant the commanders of the units of a thousand (hundred, ten) who did not belong to the Guard, i.e. the commanders of the two wings of the Mongol army who did not enjoy the privileged status of the members of the Guard. Cf. Vlad.[2], 157-158.

The attendants (*kötöčin*) were the retainers of the guards. Since the latter had an exalted position vis-à-vis the regular army men, their personal attendants also enjoyed a proportionately high status.

In this section, the commanders of a thousand (*minqad-un noyat*), lit. 'commanders of thousands', are also referred to as *minqali'ut*, which I render as 'leaders of a thousand.' *Minqali'ut* is the plural of *minqaliq* (= pmo. *minγaliγ*), a denominal noun in *-liq* (= *-liγ*) from *minqa*(*n*) 'a unit of a thousand men', sometimes referred to as a chiliarchy (see above, nn. 170, 191). The medieval Mongols had several related terms designating the same military functions and ranks. Another name for a commander of a thousand not found in the SH, but occurring in the HIIY, was *minγantu* (= mo. *mingγatu*). See *Matériel II*, 109

(19v, 2), 111 (20v, 2). Cf. also Mo, 247-248; and Poppe 1975, 166.

'Regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards', lit. 'making themselves equal to my guards and matching them.'

§ **229**. This section contains further regulations concerning the duties of the guards protecting the *qan*'s tent, several of which are repeated with small variations in § 278. Following Cleaves (Cl, 166), I have added the stewards (*ba'určin*) to the quiver-bearers (*qorčin*) and dayguards (*turqa'ut*) in view of what follows, even though the *ba'určin* are not mentioned in the parallel passage of AT[1], 74a.

'Each at his respective post' renders *ǰük ǰük mör mör-türiyen*, lit. 'in their every direction and every way (= task, duty)', i.e. each in his assigned place and at his assigned duty. Cf. the *mün mün mör-dür-iyen* 'their respective tasks' of § 192.

'As the sun sets', lit. 'at the moment when the sun is fiery' (*naran-u qaltai-a*). Cf. the passage at the beginning of § 192: 'Before the sun sets ... .'

'Beside Us', lit. 'by Us' (*bidan-tur*).

'The quiverbearers ... shall stay (lit. "sit") at the horse station (*kirü'e-tür*) while (lit. "until") We eat Our soup.' Cf. the corresponding ordinance in the earlier system as set out in § 192. For the *kirü'e* 'horse station', see above, n. 131.

'According to this ordinance' (*ene qauli-bar*). For *qauli* (transcribed *qa'uli*, as in 'ph.; cf. MMḤS, 129a) 'ordinance, rule' (mo. id.), see TMEN, no. 261 (where, however, the reading '*qāvulī*' should, I think, be amended to '*qā'ulī*'); Les., 946a-b. Cf. also SG, 256.

'Who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace.' The text says: 'who goes crossing sideways (*ketügelen yabuqu*) at the rear and front (*qoyina'un urida'un*) of the Palace (*ordo*)', meaning any person who crosses the area south and north of the Palace precinct, i.e. the perimeter of the *qan*'s tents, coming from the side. Such an action would obviously be

regarded as suspicious. 'Palace' is the rather imperfect rendering of *ordo* (calqued on ch. *kung* 宮 id., the usual rendering of this term in the SH; cf. HW, 125), a term designating here the complex of tents and other structures forming the living quarters of the *qan* and his dependants – a forbidden precinct in the middle of the encampment (often on a slight elevation) guarded day and night by the *kešigten*, and several descriptions of which are given in medieval travellers' accounts. See, e.g., MM, 60-65, 126, 150-151, 175-180. For this early period I prefer to avoid the rendering 'imperial camp (or encampment)' used by other translators (e.g. Ev-Pop, 193 et passim) for obvious historical reasons: 'royal encampment' (as in NMP, I, 309) would be better. Other translators, like Cleaves, prefer to leave this well-known term untranslated. For this term, see above, n. 123. By *ger* 'tent', occurring later in this section, is meant the *ordo ger*, i.e. the 'Palace tent' of Činggis Qan. See ibid.

'For the night', lit. 'passing the night.' For *manaqari* ~ *manaqaru* 'the following morning', see above, nn. 159 and 192.

'Shall question him', lit. 'shall ask his words', i.e. of explanation.

'When the company is relieved (*kešik ye'ütkeldürün*) ... when relieved (*ye'ütgeǰü*)', lit. 'At the moment when the company changes place *with the relief company* ... changing place *with the relief company*.' Cf. Mo, 247.

'Their passes' (*belge anu*), i.e. their tokens of identification. For *belge*, see above, n. 66.

On the nightguards 'lying down all around the Palace' (*ordo horčin gebte-*), and those 'standing at the door' (*e'üten-tür bayi-*), i.e. protecting the *qan*'s residence and guarding the entrance, see also § 192. 'Who stand guarding the door' is, literally, 'who stand securing (= barring) the door' (*e'üten daruǰu bayiqsat*). Cf. § 246.

'Shall hack *any* person entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall *apart*', lit. 'hacking (*or* cutting) people who shall enter at night until their heads are split asunder (*dalbaru*) and their shoulders fall.' For the adverb

dalbaru 'split open along a vertical line', formed on *dalba* 'split open' (adv.) + the suffix of direction *-ru* (on which see GWM, 59, § 215; Mo, 17, n. 11, 47), see Bese 1969, 123. Cf. mo. *dalbara-* 'to split open', and *darbaγar* 'wide open, gaping, split up' (MKT, 1134a,c; Les., 232a). Cf. ma. *dalbarame* 'along the side' (CMEL, 53a), and ǰü. *dalbara* (ma. *dalba*) 'side' (SSJ, 99b). In the SH, the Ming translators have rendered the expression *dalbaru čabči-* once as 'to cut breaking (apart)' (§ 229: 打破…砍), and twice as 'to cut (split) open' (§§ 255, 278: 劈開). See HW, 31. In the sectional summary of § 229 (Y^2 9, 49b), it is rendered less accurately as 'to break (*or* smash)' (打破). This has misled several translators, including myself in Ra, IX, 126. The same expression is used in the poetic passage in § 255. As for those 'entering at night', the reference is to persons who try to enter without due authorization in the form of a token or mark of identification (*belge*), or a verbal permission (*kele*, lit. 'word'; see below).

For the ordinance concerning the delivery of urgent messages, cf. § 169 and com.

'No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards', lit. 'No one is to sit in a seat above (*de'ere*) the nightguards', i.e. no one is allowed to stop and stay anywhere beyond and behind the sentries, in other words, past the limit between these and the tent.

'Without permission', lit. 'without word' (*kelen ügei*), i.e. without the nightguards' authorization.

'No one is to walk up beyond (*dege'ün*) the nightguards': just as one was not allowed to stop and sit in the area between the sentries and the tent, so one is also not allowed to walk in that same area. For *dege'ün* 'on the upper side, above, higher than' = 'beyond', cf. Ligeti 1971, 146-147; Oz[1], V, 310-313, n. 7. This entire sentence is omitted in Pao's translation (p. 41).

'One must not walk between (*ǰaqa'un*) the nightguards.' For *ǰaqa'un* 'between', cf. Ligeti 1971, 147; Oz[1], V, 313-314, n. 7.

For the removal of the gear and clothing of enemies (and culprits in general), cf. Serruys 1982a, 126. Some translators understand this passage to mean that not only the gear and clothing of the transgressor shall be seized by the nightguards, but he will also be arrested. See Cl, 167; On, 128; Street 1990, 175; Oz^2, II, 113. However, the sectional summary (Y^2 9, 49b) specifically omits the transgressor, as rightly noted by Haenisch and Ligeti (Ha, 108; Li, 105), and he is also not included in the seizure in most other translations. Cf., e.g., Do^1, 255; Ta, 161; Ev-Pop, 194.

Some of the above regulations, as well as the reference to Elǰigedei's misadventure – about which nothing else is known – are quoted by Ögödei in § 278. For these regulations, cf. also Pėrlėė 1962, 31-32. Elǰigedei (~ Elǰigidei, meaning 'Donkey') reappears in § 275 as the father of Harqasun. They are both well-known personages. See below, nn. 275 and 278. The Western travellers to the Mongol court in the 13th century bear witness to the strict observance of those regulations and the harsh treatment meted out to those who unwittingly infringed them. See, e.g., MM, 61-62.

'Was he not arrested?', lit. 'how was he arrested …?'

§ 230. This section is almost entirely taken up with Činggis' words of praise for his faithful nightguards.

'Lying down around', lit. 'Lying down surrounding' (*e'eren kebteǰü*). Cf. §§ 192 and 229, and a few lines below in the present section, where *horčin* '(all) around', is used instead of *e'eren*. For *kebte- ~ gebte-*, see ''Quelques problèmes', 241.

'Vented tent', lit. 'tent having a smoke-hole (*örügetei*).' For *örüge ~ erüge* (HW, 46, 128) 'smoke-hole on top of the yurt', cf. mo. *erüke ~ örüke* id. See also RH, 70, no. 29; SG, 152; DO, 538b; 'Quelques problèmes', 268; and above, n. 21.

'Ensured that I slept', lit. 'Let (*or* made, caused) *me* to sleep.'

'In quiet and peace' (*örük nuta*). *Örük* (w.f. *örüg*) is a borrowing from uig. *örüg* 'quiet, rest.' See ED, 222b; DTS, 390b.

Cf. Mo, 145; and below, n. 255. *Nuta* in Written Mongolian and the living languages (cf. kh. *nut*) means 'firm, strong.' See Les., 596b; Cëv., 390a. This meaning is clearly related to the ancient meaning of '(at) peace, (at) rest', from which derives 'not movable', hence 'firm.'

For the 'Palace tent' (*ordo ger*), see above, n. 229.

'Ensured that I was without fear', lit. 'You have not made *me* afraid' (*ese oqǰatqaqsan*), i.e. 'you have caused me not to be afraid.' For the verb *oqǰatqa-* 'to frighten', see above, n. 193.

'In the swirling snowstorm,/In shivering cold, in pouring rain', lit. 'in the snowstorm that is moving (i.e. changing position),/In the cold that makes one shiver, in rain that is pouring.' For *jü'en* 'cold', cf. Cleaves 1996, 40, n. 333. For *šilgütke-*, factitive of *šilgüt-* (= mo. *silgüd-*) 'to tremble, shiver', see Les., 706b. Cf. Mostaert 1939, 329; Cleaves 1991, 140, n. 47; Oz[1], VI, 10-12, n. 6.

'Taking no rest' (*ǰirim ülü kin*), lit. 'not making *ǰirim*.' The word *ǰirim*, glossed as 'a short rest' (略歇息), is apparently unattested elsewhere in Mongolian. As pointed out by N. Poppe (p.c.), Karaim has a word *čirim* meaning 'slumber.' See VWTD, III, 2126b. Cf. TH, 300-301 (= ǰYT, 522-523); Oz[1], VI, 13, n. 8. *Čirim* is actually the form found in AT[1], 75a. See ATL, 162. Poppe has suggested a possible relationship with ord. *Džirmī-* 'regarder en fermant à moitié les yeux' (DO, 202b) < *ǰirim-ii-* = mo. *ǰirmeyi-* 'to squint' (Gol., III, 369c). Thus, there are two possibilities:1) 'not making slumber' = 'without *even* slumbering'; and 2) 'not blinking' = 'without *even* blinking' – both of them fitting the context. In view of the fact that the expression 'not blinking an eye' occurs a few lines below, I have rendered *ǰirim ülü kin* as 'taking no rest.'

'Latticed tent' (*šiltesütei ger*), i.e. with a lattice frame (*šiltesü*, mo. *süldesü*[*n*] 'splints or strips of bamboo'), as the traditional tents are made. See Les., 743a. The entry on *süldesü* is misplaced in MKeT, 2146b.

'Trouble-making enemies' (*ibulun* [? *ibülün*] *bükü dayisun*), i.e. who are causing great commotion and disorder – on the basis of the Chinese glosses. See HW, 80, s.v. 'ibulgu.' However, On, 129, takes this expression to mean 'simmering enemies' ('surging foe' in the 2001 ed., 218), and Oz[2], II, 126, renders it as 'swarming enemies.' Cf. Oz[1], VI, 13-15, n. 9. The whole section from *ibulun* to the end of the poetic passage (*ke'ekdün*) is translated and discussed in Mo, 135-142. The following are a few additional remarks on individual words and expressions.

'Felt-girt tent', lit. 'tent having (= with) *irge*' (*irgetei ger*), *irge* being the broad protective felt band surrounding the lower portion of the tent on the outside. On this word, cf. also Oz[1], VI, 15-16, n. 10. 'My watchful nightguards' (*uriyarqun kebte'ül minu*). For the word *uriyarqun* 'watchful, alert', cf. Mostaert 1962, 221, n. 84. For the image of the enemy's quivers rattling (in our passage, lit. 'barely shaking'), see § 105. For the words 'My swift-moving nightguards … too late', see also *Lettres*, 77.

For their merits, the original eighty nightguards (see §§ 191, 192) are henceforth designated with a title of seniority appropriate to the 'old guard' (*ötögüs kebte'ül*). Ögöle (~ Ögele, Ögölei, Ögölen) Čerbi and the original seventy dayguards (§ 191) are called 'the great dayguards' (*yekes turqa'ut*) to distinguish them from the new recruits. The 'brave warriors' (*ba'atut*) of Arqai (= Arqai Qasar), i.e. the élite one-thousand-man corps created in 1203-1204 (§ 191), are now called 'the elder brave warriors' (*ötögüs ba'atut*). Finally, Yisün Te'e (Tö'e), Bügidei (Bükidei) 'and the others', i.e. the four hundred quiverbearers led by Yisün Te'e and Bügidei whose duties are set out in § 192, are renamed 'the great quiverbearers' (*yekes qorčin*). Cf. Li, 176, n. 230. The epithet 'great' (*yekes*) in the present context refers to seniority, just like *ötögüs*. For this usage of *yekes*, cf. the HC, 8b et passim. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 43, 63, n. 94; Cleaves 1993, 33, n. 33.

§ **231**. 'Considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*', lit. 'thinking of these guards like a souvenir (*geri'es*)' – the guards being those previously attached to the very person of Činggis Qan. Cf. above, § 226. For *geri'es*, see above, n. 208.

'Give them no cause for dissatisfaction', lit. 'do not make them displeased' (*ülü gemüri'ülün*). For *gemüri'ül-*, the factitive form of *gemüri-* 'to be displeased, have a grievance against s.', see Mo, 197-198; L. Ligeti in *AOH* 14:1962, 324; Serruys 1969, 394, n. 2 (with further references); Oz[1], VI, 25, n. 3. With regard to Činggis' recommendation, cf. Vlad.[2], 120.

For the expression 'beneficent spirits' (*nendü'üt qutuq*), see above, n. 202.

This section ends with a rhetorical question in the negative: 'will they not be called ...?' (... *ke'eǰü ülü'ǖ aqdu'ai*), implying a strong affirmation. Ozawa has assumed that *aqdu'ai* is a textual error for *aldu'ai* (*aldu'āi* = *a-ldu-'āi*), nomen imperfecti of the reciprocal form of *a-* 'to be.' See Oz[1], VI, 19, 25-26, n. 5. Cf. St, 116, n. 834. In my view this emendation is not necessary. The Chinese interlinear gloss clearly indicates that the word in question is an imperative form of *a-* (有者麼). The AT[1], 75b, has *aγdaqui*, an old polite imperative, confirming at the same time that the initial *a* is followed by a velar stop. Furthermore, the form *aldu'ai* proposed by Ozawa is syntactically awkward in the context as it has no ergative connotations. I think that the SH *aqdu'ai* = *aqda'ai* (w.f. *aγdaγai*), the nomen imperfecti of the passive of *a-* (polite imperative). The *-qdu-* for *-qda-* may not necessarily be a textual error either. Cf. rec. *-ldu-* ~ *-lda-* (e.g., mo. *ǰarγulda-* and *ǰöbsiyelde-*; see Kow., 2305b, 2410b). In the present instance we may have a very rare example of a similar phenomenon (*-qdu-* ~ *-qda-*).

It should be further noted that, in both the SH and the corresponding section of the AT (see AT[1], 75b), the opening sentence *basa Činggis Qa'an ügülerün* (or *ǰarliq bolurun*), or even a shortened form of it (*basa ǰarliq bolurun*, or simply *basa*), is lacking. This is in all likelihood an early involuntary scribal omission.

§ 232. 'Female attendants', lit. '*čerbi*-maids' (*čerbin ökit*; AT[1], 75b: *čerbi ökid*). These were young women who served in various capacities as servants and 'stewardesses' in the *ordo*, but their degree of servitude is not known. For the designation *ordo-yin čerbin ökit*, cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64; cf. also Kałużyński 1978, 125, n. 4. *Čerbin* is an ancient plural of *čerbi*. See GWM, 72, § 272. As for the 'sons of the household', lit. 'sons of the tent' (*ger-ün kö'üt*), in this period they were almost certainly young domestic slaves. That they were domestics is comfirmed by the interlinear gloss (Y[2] 10, 4b). The expression *ger-ün kö'ü(t)*, its Chinese transcription in the later Yüan texts (*ch'ieh-lien k'ou* 怯憐口), and its Turkic equivalent in the Persian texts (*ēv oγlān*), have been the subject of investigation by various scholars. See, in particular, Cleaves 1950, 51-52, n. 170 (where earlier literature on the subject is discussed); TMEN, nos. 675, 676; Ebisawa 1969; Mu, III, 72-73, n. 8; Murakami 1973; MTSK, 16, 136, 149, 303; and CEME, 32. The term *kö'ü(n)* (pl. *kö'üt*), lit. 'son' (= mo. *köbegün*), in this context means 'servant, slave.' See Vlad.[2], 213, 214; Kałużyński, loc. cit. Also, from the context in which these categories of service personnel are mentioned, i.e. together with camel-keepers and cowherds, it would appear that their functions in Činggis Qan's time were rather menial. It is interesting that in Ordos the term *k'öwūt* designated an 'esclave du dernier rang' rather than a servant – a usage that may have an early origin. See DO, 433b. For other interpretations and renderings of *ordo-yin čerbin ökit* and *ger-ün kö'üt*, cf. On, 130, and Ev-Pop, 198. Whereas Onon's definition of 'house-boys' for *ger-ün kö'üt* is acceptable (cf. TMEN, no. 675), I find Even and Pop's 'servantes des chambellans' for *čerbin ökit* grammatically incorrect; it is also contradicted by both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 6a). It will be remembered that in § 124, Dödei Čerbi was put in charge of 'domestics and servants in the tent' (*ger dotora gergen tutqar*), i.e. in Činggis Qan's yurt. Dödei was subsequently (1206) appointed as one of the 'elders'

(*ötögüs*) of the (four) companies of dayguards (§ 227). The functions of all these different classes of servants are unfortunately not described in any of our sources.

For the term *hükeči* (< *hüker* 'cow'; pl. *hükečin*) 'cowherd, ox-drover', cf. Cleaves 1953, 103, n. 3.

For the 'tent-carts' (*ger tergen*), see above, n. 121.

'The standards and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath *them*' (*tuq gü'ürge dōro ǰida*). Cf. § 278, where this ordinance is quoted again, with the 'bowls and vessels' mentioned immediately after the spears (*ǰida*). Cl, 169-170, translated the entire sentence thus: 'Let the nightguards collect the spears at the foot of[6] the standards and drums.' In note 6 on p. 169, he writes: 'This interpretation of *doro* [i.e. *dōro* – I.R.] as a postposition was suggested by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in an oral communication of 8 September 1953.' While I prefer to render *asara-* with 'to take care of (*or* to be responsible for)' instead of 'to collect', I think that Mostaert and Cleaves are undoubtedly correct in their interpretation of *dōro*; indeed, a similar, if not identical, interpretation had been adopted by Haenisch. See Ha, 110, where *dōro* is rendered with 'darunter.' (If we exclude Palladiĭ's unpublished translation [see Section Seven of the Introduction], the first correct rendering is actually found in Čendü Güng's version. See Cė, 501.) However, N. Poppe (p.c.) is inclined to see in the four words in question four or three direct objects, '*doro*' being in his view either a weapon or an attribute of *ǰida*, following in this Kozin's doubtful interpretation. See Ko, 173: 'banners, drums and pikestaffs.' Cf. also ibid., 564 and 608, where *doro ǰida* is listed as a compound meaning 'pikestaff (?).' Several other scholars take *dōro*, which they variously read *döröge* (kh. *döröö*), *dörö*, *dörü*, as meaning 'stirrups' (Da[1], 227; Da[5], 193; cf., however, Da[2], 230, where *döröge* is left untranslated; Mu, III, 65; Га, 164), 'halberds' (Oz[1], VI, 29, 32-34, n. 4), 'pikes' (On, 130, and n. 292), and 'lances à crochet' (Ev-Pop, 232, with a note [6] on p. 295 reading '*Doro (?) jida.* Peut-être faut-il y voir les "lances armées d'un croc à la douille, pour pouvoir éventuellement

désarçonner leur homme", que mentionne Jean de Plan Carpin (p. 77).' Cf. also Do[1], 232; El-Ar, 760; Če, 216; and others following the same or similar interpretations (a convenient listing is given in Γa, 387, n. 620). However, mo. *dörö* (*dörü*) means 'iron or rope nose-ring, or wood pin (for cattle); lead rope (for cattle); basket; handle or cross-bar to lift a basket; splint; cotter pin' (Les., 269a; cf. Kow., 1941b; TH, 285 [= ǰYT, 494-495]); a word related to it, *dörebči* (= *döre* [> *dörö*] + den. noun suff. *-bči*) '(nose) ring', occurs in § 135. See above, n. 135. To see in the word *dörö* a 'pike', 'pikestaff' or 'halberd' is stretching the ring too far. Furthermore, in the SH, *doro* (= *dōro*, mo. *doora*) is regularly glossed *hsia* 下 'under, below' (see HW, 37), as is the case in §§ 232 and 278. Irinčin (Irinchen) is virtually alone among the contemporary Mongolian scholars in correctly transcribing *dōro* as *doora*. See Ir, 200. It would therefore seem that, at the time, in the tent(s) or cart(s) where this equipment was kept, the spears were placed 'under', i.e. arranged on the ground (or floor) at the foot of the standards and drums. The nightguards were also responsible for the custody of the *qan*'s precious bowls and vessels (*ayaqa saba*) which were apparently also kept beneath the standards and drums. It is not clear from the text whether we are dealing here with several standards and drums, or with the white standard with nine tails (see § 202) and the great war drum (cf. § 106), the two paramount symbols of the *qan*'s power, hence sacred objects. If so, the translation should be amended accordingly. For *gü'ürge* (= *kö'ürge*) 'drum' and its variants in the SH, cf. Oz[1], VI, 31-32, n. 3; and above, n. 106.

'Uncut meat and food as well', lit. 'thick meat and food as well' (*ötken ber miqan ide'en*), i.e. the meat and foodstuff before being cut and prepared for cooking by the *ba'určin*. The words in question are understood differently by other translators who render them as 'meat for the sacrificial offerings' (Da[1], 227, and Da[5], 193, after Ko, 173; Mu, III, 65 and 73, n. 10; El-Ar, 761, n. 5); 'clear [= plain – I.R.] meat' (Li, 107); 'thick meatfood (= thick meat soup)' (Oz[1], VI, 29, 34-36, n. 5; Oz[2], II,

128, 150-151, n. 2 – after Do[1], 260; cf. also Ja, 348); 'pièces de viande[7]' (Ev-Pop, 198; note 7 on p. 295 reads: '*Ödgen-ber miqan idegen*: probablement la viande coupée en morceaux aux articulations, par opposition à la viande entrant en petits morceaux ou hachée dans la composition d'un plat'). However, as shown by the parallel passage in § 278, *ötken miqa(n)* forms a single compound without *ide'en*; the latter must therefore be considered a separate noun. Thus the nightguards also had to supervise both the supply of raw foodstuff and the preparation of the same. This sentence is related to the next one, which implies that the nightguards would be held responsible for any scarcity (*qor qomsa*) of food. Regarding the expression *qor qomsa*, lit. 'little (quantity) – scanty' = 'lacking, wanting; scarcity', cf. DO, 357b; Vietze 1990, 386 (where, however, the word *qor* has been inadvertently dropped from the sentence).

'We shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision', i.e. 'we shall seek *and obtain* them from the nightguards ....' For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 367.

'Shall stand right next to the tent.' For these words, see *Lettres*, 77.

'Shall ... oversee the large *kumis* pitchers', lit. 'shall ... be holding in hand (= controlling) the large *kumis* pitchers (*yeke tüsürge*).' For these pitchers, see above, n. 213.

'The 'campmasters' (*nuntu'učin*), i.e. the officers in charge of laying out the camp and setting up the *qan*'s tents. The term *nuntu'učin* (= pmo. *nuntuɣučin*), plural of *nuntu'uči* (= pmo. *nuntuɣuči*), occurs again in §§ 278 and 279, also (§ 279) in the form *nuntūčitan* (< *nuntu'učitan* < *nuntuɣučitan*). For this term, cf. HCWLYTT, 99-104, no. 22; Oz[1], VI, 37-38, n. 8. For the plural suffix *-tan/-ten*, cf. Mo, 30.

'Exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts', lit. 'measuring (= counting) their half (*ǰarimud-iyan*), they shall place it at the carts.' In other words, exactly one half of the nightguards must remain to guard the tent-carts, while the other half goes hunting with the *qan*. *J̌arimut* (pl. of *ǰarim* – with

reference to the nightguards) means 'half', not 'some (in number)' (*nanigashi*) as in Oz[1], VI, 30. See HW, 86; the sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 6b); *Matériel I*, 65; MA, 201b. The error has been corrected in Oz[2], II, 129. Several of the above ordinances, including the present one, will be reconfirmed by Ögödei (§ 278).

§ 233. This section is the continuation of the ordinance (*ǰarliq*) concerning the duties of the nightguards. The injunction against going to fight without the *qan*'s participation is repeated in § 278. The entire § 233 is translated and discussed in Mo, 142-153. The following are additional comments and elucidations.

For the words 'If We Ourselves (= in person) do not go on a military campaign' (*bidanu beye čerik ese qaru'asu*), cf. Mo, 184.

'After being thus instructed *by Us*', lit. 'having let themselves be told (= ordered) in this way' (*eyin ke'e'ülü'et*), or 'après qu'ils se sont laissé donner un ordre conçu en de tels termes' [A.M.]. For this expression, cf. also Cleaves 1953, 48-49, n. 17; Ligeti 1971, 152.

'The chamberlains (*čerbin*, pl.) in charge of troops.' Besides their duties as chamberlains and stewards in the *ordo*, the *čerbi*s were also military chiefs as the occasion demanded. See § 234. Cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64.

'My golden life' (*minu altan amin*). For *altan* 'gold(en)' = 'royal', see above, n. 21. This sentence is emphasized by the particle *lü*. See Street 1986a, 14-15.

'*Whether this* is moving or stationary (*örük-tür*)', i.e. when the *qan* is travelling or when he has pitched camp. *Örük-tür* is, literally, 'at rest.' Cf. Cleaves 1957, 441, n. 44; and above, n. 230.

'The main base camp', lit. 'the great *a'uruq*' (*yeke a'uruq*). This was the base or 'rear' camp belonging to the *qan*'s *ordo*. Cf. above, n. 136. The epithet *yeke* 'great' also indicates, as usual, that the establishment in question pertains to the *qan*.

'The reason why We say … duties', lit. 'Saying *to Ourselves* that *the nightguards* have such double (*dabqur*, i.e. manifold) and quite distinct (*qaqas qaqas*) tasks (*yabudaltan*, i.e. duties), the reason why We say, "Let them not go on a military campaign apart and separately from Us" is such (= this).' For *qaqas qaqas* (= mo. *qaγas qaγas*), besides Mo, 146-151, cf. also Bese 1969, 126-127, n. 5. For Ozawa, the expression (*-ača*) *anggida ö'ere*, lit. 'apart *and* separately (from)', or 'apart (from) *and* separately', which occurs also in §§ 199 and 278, is a compound meaning only 'separately' or 'apart (from).' See Oz[1], VI, 56-57, n. 7.

§ **234**. '*Some* of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu', lit. 'As to judicial matters (*ǰarqu*) with Šigi Qutuqu, from *among* the nightguards *some* shall hear judicial matters with *him*', i.e. certain officers chosen from among the nightguards were to be appointed to assist Šigi Qutuqu in hearing legal cases and passing judgements. As we have already seen (§ 203 and com.), Šigi Qutuqu had earlier been appointed grand judge (*ǰarquči*).

'Quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons (*ǰebe*).' The word *ǰebe* has two meanings: 1) a particular type of arrow (see § 147 and com.), and 2) 'weapons' in general, including arrows. Cf. TMEN, no. 156; and Khomonov 1970, 39 (also for remarks on *quyaq* 'breastplate, armour'). Although there is some ambiguity in the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 10a) which speaks of 'arrows and weapons', I follow the interlinear gloss and render *ǰebe* as 'weapons' as most of the translators have done.

'The *hunting* nets' (*hö'öšin* = mo. *ögesin*; not listed in Pelliot 1925) were nets, or snares, used for catching birds and other animals. Cf. Ma, 316-317, n. 6; TH, 198 (= ǰYT, 343). The 'a'oga' of HW, 8 (see also H, 78, § 234) is an incorrect reading due to a faulty transcription of the original Mongol word.

A'urasun 'satin' corresponds to mo. *aγurasun* 'chattels, belongings, possessions' (Les., 18a). Cf. mo. *aγurasutai* 'having

possessions, rich' (ibid., 1197a). For this word, which occurs but seldom in ancient texts, cf. Khomonov 1970, 40; TH, 85 (= ǰYT, 150); CEME, 27. For its later usage, cf. ETI, 6a. The distribution of satin, a valuable commodity, was as a reward or in payment for services to officials, a practice that continued until modern times.

'To take up duty' is, literally, 'to go' (*yabu-*), i.e. 'to undertake, perform; to serve.' Cf. Cleaves 1950, 96 [14]; DO, 399b.

On the commanders of the quiverbearers and the dayguards, and on Arqai's 'brave warriors' (*ba'atut*) mentioned in this section, see §§ 225-227, 230. The ordinance regarding the stationing of the nightguards near the *ordo*, on the left (= eastern) side, has been inadvertently omitted in L^2, 203, first line. Cf. R, 135, lines 9229-9230; St, 117, lines X095-X097.

'The tent-carts of the Palace' (*ordo ger terge*). Some scholars (e.g. Li, 108; Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 26), separate *ordo* from *ger tergen* and translate 'the palace (*ordo*) and the tent-carts.' However, *ordo ger tergen* = *ordo-yin ger tergen*, as is clearly shown by the examples quoted by Cleaves (loc. cit.), and by his own translation of the passage in § 278 (ibid.). The translation has, in fact, been rectified in Cl, 171.

'Constantly' (*darun*). On this term, a fossilized converbum modale of *daru-* 'to press' used adverbially, see Cleaves 1953a, 248.

'Scraps of leftovers' renders Mongolian *qoq* (= mo. *qoγ*). The literal meaning of the Chinese interlinear gloss is 'cuttings of grass' (碎草), but the actual meaning is 'sweepings, scraps, remnants of food, garbage', which we find in the living languages and dialects as well as in the literary language. This word is a borrowing from uig. *qoγ* 'dust, dirt, ashes.' See DTS, 452b, 457a; ED, 609a. The word for 'dried dung' (used for fuel) is here *qoma'ul*, which alliterates with *qoq*. *Qoma'ul* corresponds to mo. *qomoγol*, *qomool*, *qomol* (= *qomōl*) id. (mainly used with reference to horse, donkey and mule dung).

See Kow., 936a; Les., 961a; MKT, 659a-b. Cf. also Vietze 1990, 386; DO, 351a.

The ordinances in this section provide for the security of the *qan*'s *ordo* by distributing the reorganized detachments of nightguards, chamberlains, quiverbearers and dayguards around it. This enables us to get a much clearer picture of the topography of the Mongol camp. The right or western side of the *ordo* – the entrance of which faced south – was jointly guarded by the quiverbearers of Yisün Te'e and Bükidei (see §§ 225, 230), and by the dayguards under the command of Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqutai (see §§ 226, 227, 230). The left or eastern side was guarded by the dayguards led by Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai (see §§ 226, 227). In front of the *ordo*, i.e. on the southern side, were deployed the élite guards of Arqai Qasar (see §§ 226, 230). Moreover, Dödei Čerbi was appointed to control all the dayguards on duty, as well as the numerous auxiliary personnel attached to the *ordo*, an office that obviously carried great responsibility and constant vigilance – hence the 'poetic' image of a busy official who, as Onon says (On, 131, n. 294; cf. the 2001 ed., 220, n. 517) 'will have no time to look after himself properly' and will have to make do with scraps of food and self-gathered fuel while he is at his station at the rear of Činggis' tent. As seen earlier (§§ 169, 229), the back of the tent was the place used for conveying confidential and urgent verbal messages to the *qan*. Further details on the organization of the Mongol camp can be gleaned from the HTSL and from the Western travellers' accounts. See CG, 185-186; and SF, 624b-625a, s.v. 'curia.' Cf. also Li, 176, n. 234.

§ **235**. The Qarluq Turks were mentioned in § 198 in connection with the flight to Central Asia of Güčülük, the Naiman prince, son of Tayang Qan. For bibliographical references to that important people, see above, n. 151. Cf. also YTWHTLCT, 4-6, for the episode described in this section. Their chief was called Arslan ('Lion') Qan, but this was probably a royal title rather

than his name. He ruled in the Qarluq capital Qayalïq (or Qayalïγ) in the lower Ili valley, identified with the site of Dungin, 18 km south-west of Taldy-Kurgan in southeastern Kazakhstan. Arslan Qan was wise enough to submit peacefully to Qubilai Noyan – the commander of a thousand of the Barulas (on whom see §§ 202 [no. 8], 209) – thus becoming a subordinate ally of the Mongols. Činggis gave him one of his daughters in marriage, sealing in this way their alliance by making him a royal son-in-law (*güregen*). He did the same with the rulers of the Uighur and Önggüt Turks, who had also not 'rebelled' (*bulqaba*), i.e. who had not offered resistance. See § 238, and above, n. 182. For the term *bulqa-* and its implications, see above, n. 150. Upon Arslan's submission, Činggis renamed him Arslan Sartaqtai, i.e. 'Arslan the Sartaq.' See SL^2, I/1, 151. For the designation 'Sartaqtai', see above, nn. 152 and 182. For the background of Arslan's submission, see HWC, 74-77. According to the Chinese sources and Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 163), the submission took place in the spring of the Year of the Sheep (*hsin-wei* 辛未), i.e. 1211. See Na^2, 337; FSHCA, 33.

As for the identity of Činggis' daughter, it is noteworthy that her name is not given in any of the sources, whereas the princesses given to the rulers of the Uighurs (§ 238) and the Önggüt (§ 239) are named. A Mongol princess called Töre is mentioned in YS^2 109, 2761d, as the wife of Arslan's son Yesü Buqa. Činggis is not known to have had a daughter by that name; it is difficult to say, therefore, whether she was the daughter who went to Yesü Buqa after Arslan Qan's death. See MWESC 151, 5b-6a.

In Da^1, 229-230 (cf. Da^5, 194-195), there follows a poetic passage taken from AT^1, 85b-86a. For the Russian translation of the same, see LDAT, 182. However, this passage is a later interpolation: it confuses Töre with Alaqa Beki, the princess given in marriage to the Önggüt ruler. See § 239; LDAT, 353, n. 2.

§ **236**. § 199 relates how in the Year of the Ox, i.e. in 1205, Činggis sent Sübe'etei in pursuit of Toqto'a sons Qudu (~ Qutu, or better, Qodu; see above, n. 141), Qal and Čila'un, providing him with 'an iron cart.' See above, n. 199. As I explained in my note, the date is wrong as this event must be placed s.a. 1217. For a detailed chronology of these events, which is at variance with that presented in Buell 1992, see Appendix One. For the Čui, i.e. the Chu River in Kazakhstan, see §§ 152, 177 and 198, and above, n. 152.

'Destroyed them and came back' (*muqutqaǰu irebe*). For *muqutqa-* (~ *moqutqa-*) 'to destroy, finish off', see above, n. 153. As shown in Appendix One, the Mongol army, led by J̌oči and Sübe'etei and sent against the Merkit remnants, first defeated Qodu at the Chu and, finally, at a place that the Chinese sources call Yü-yü 玉峪 (? Yū[γ]ū[r]) in the Qïpčaq territory whither Qodu and his followers had fled. Cf. TDMI, 369-371. According to Buell 1992, 12, the destruction of the last Merkit occurred in the spring of 1209.

§ **237**. As with the event recorded in the preceding section, this episode is also misplaced. J̌ebe's expedition against Güčülük of the Naiman, already briefly referred to in § 202, actually took place in 1218. Again we have here an error of a full twelve-year cycle (1206 for 1218). See Appendix One. For the various accounts of Güčülük's death, see HWC, 66-68; SL^2, I/2, 183-184; TDMI, 400-403; EM, 224-225; ES, 294-296; HCSL, 653-654; and Buell 1992, 27-28.

In the SH, the place where Güčülük met his death is called Sariq Qun, a Turkic-Mongol hybrid name meaning 'Yellow Cliff' (*sariq* = tu. *sarïγ* 'yellow', cf. TMEN, no. 1207; *qun* [= pmo. *γun*] means 'cliff, steep bank, slope', cf. above, n. 26). As already noted in Pelliot 1930b, 55, the name of the place found in the Persian sources as well as in the corresponding passage of the AT (AT^1, 86a; cf. ATL, 167: 'Sariγ-γoola', the first element of which is incorrectly read 'Khiris' in LDAT, 183) is Sariq Qōl (= Sariγ Γool), i.e. 'Yellow River.' This, in turn, may be an

error for Sarïγ Köl (*or* Sar-i Köl), the 'Yellow Lake', i.e. Lake Victoria or Zor Kul (Zorkul') in the Pamir, on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, in that same region – the Pamir River valley – where Güčülük is supposed to have been captured by local hunters and delivered to J̌ebe's horsemen. On the other hand, the Sarikol Range at the eastern edge of the Pamir cannot be excluded, even though this location seems too far to the east. The identification remains uncertain. For a discussion of the problem, see Boyle in HWC, 67-68, n. 18; and Yao TL 1981. Sübe'etei's and J̌ebe's expeditions in Central Asia in 1216/17 and 1218 respectively put the Mongols directly in contact with the Khwārazmian empire (the 'Sarta'ul people' – *Sarta'ul irgen* – of the SH) and were a prelude to the great Western Campaign launched by Činggis Qan soon after their return to Mongolia, following the so-called 'Otrar incident.' However, the first clash between the troops of Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm and the Mongols led by J̌oči and Sübe'etei apparently took place in 1216/17 in the course of the Mongol campaign against Qodu in Qïpčaq country, between the rivers Qaili and Qaimich (? Irgiz and Turghai). See HWC, 69-70, 370-373; TDMI, 371; FSHCA, 36. Cf. below, n. 254, and Appendix One. For the name Khwārazm (Xvārazm), see above, n. 152. For Otrar (Uṭrār), see below, n. 257.

§ **238**. *Idu'ut* was the title of the Uighur ruler. The written Mongolian form of the word was *iduγud* (> *idu'ut*), a form confirmed by the AT[1], 86a (see ATL, 167, where 'Iduqud' = 'Iduγud'), which corresponds to uig. *ïduqut*. In other preclassical texts we find the *lectio plena iduγ qud* (see, e.g., Cleaves 1949, 73b), corresponding to uig. *ïduq qut* (> *ïduqut*), meaning 'the sacred favour (of Heaven)', or 'grâce ou fortune envoyé ou octroyé [*sic*] (par le Ciel)' (Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49b), i.e. 'divine majesty.' On this title and its various connotations, see TMEN, nos. 238, 1936; DTS, 217b; ED, 46a; CLC, 316-317 (see also Han Ju-lin in *SS* 1:1940/41, 53-76); Cleaves

1949, 43, n. 28; Mori 1981, 69ff.; MBT, 229a-b; Rybatzki 2000, 269-273.

As in previous occurrences of this name, 'Uighurs' is written Ui'ut, the plural of Ui'ur < Uiqur (= Uiγur). See above, n. 151.

The ruler of the Uighurs who in 1209 submitted voluntarily to Činggis Qan was Barčuq Art Tegin (*tegin* being his princely title; cf. above, n. 182). On his name, see Cleaves 1949, 43, n. 29, 100, n. 28; Geng & Hamilton 1981, 48b. See also *Chapitre CVIII*, 133, n. 9; Rybatzki 2000, 253. His capital was Beš Balïq ('Five Cities'), Beš Baliγ and Biš Baliγ in Mongolian, known as Pei-t'ing 北庭 or 'Northern Court' in Chinese, situated in the area of modern Jimasa/Jimsar north-east of Urumchi in Sinkiang. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 48, n. 56; YShi, 10. That this, and not the 'southern capital' Qara Qočo (Qarā Qōǰo, Qarā Ḫōǰah, east of Turfan) was his residence is clearly stated by J̌uvainī. See HWC, 47. (For Qara Qočo, see NMP, III, 220a, 221a-b [Index].) Barčuq's submission to, and subsequent relations with, Činggis Qan are related in HWC, 44-48; SL^2, I/1, 147-149; I/2, 152-154, as well as in the Chinese sources. For a discussion of these relations, see the important contribution of Th. T. Allsen in CAE (Allsen 1983); and Tang PH 1998. However, our sources do not agree on the names of the envoys sent by Barčuq to Činggis. In the SH their names are given as Atkiraq and Darbai. Pelliot suggested a possible emendation of the former into 'At-buïruq' (Pe, 93, n. 1), but gives no reason. AT^1, 86a, gives the corrupt form 'Abirγa' (ATL, 167: '[= Adkiraγ]'). Adkiraγ is undoubtedly the correct written form, corresponding to tu. *adγïraq* 'a young stallion.' See ED, 49a. Cf. Bese 1978, 356, no. 5. The discrepancies between the SH and the Persian sources are discussed by Boyle in HWC, 45, n. 9. Cf. also Li, 176-177, n. 238; Mu, III, 85-86, n. 8; Buell 1992, 10-11, n. 28. The confusion is largely due to the fact that there was an exchange of envoys from both sides on more than one occasion.

'Mother Sun' (*eke naran* poetical, because of the alliteration, for *naran eke*). For the epithet *eke* 'mother', given to deities that are personifications of nature, such as the Earth, see Mostaert 1957a, 99, 101, n. 8; idem 1962, 201, 218, n. 21.

'Came upon', lit. 'found.'

For the '*mot-couple*' *nere aldar* 'name – fame' = 'fame', cf. *Lettres*, 31.

'If I were to obtain/But a ring from your golden belt,/But a thread from your crimson coat', lit. 'If I obtained/*But one* from the rings (*qorgid-ača*) of the golden belt,/*But one* from the shreds (*hürtesün-eče*) of the crimson coat *of yours*.' For *qorgit*, plural of *qorgi(n)* (= mo. *γorki*[*n*]) 'ring or hook of a belt, buckle, clasp', cf. Oz[1], VI, 85-86, n. 3; Les., 361b. However, these rings decorating the leather belt must not be confused with the metal buckle (as in Ev-Pop, 200). Cf. Pelliot 1929a, 141, 144ff. In view of the plural form *γorgis-ača* of AT[1], 86a, Pelliot's 'qorgïd-ača' (*read* 'qorgid-ača') is correct (Pe, 93), hence the reading 'qorgi-dača' of H, 78 ('ḥorgi daca'); R, line 9310; L[2], 204; Daš, line 3408 ('γorqi-dača'); and St, line X126, must be amended. *Hürtesün* = mo. *ürtesü(n)*, *üredesü(n)* 'scrap, shred, rag, etc.' See Les., 1011b; Khomonov 1970, 34. For the symbolism of Barčuq's request, see CEME, 49-50, 64-65.

In Mongolian medieval terminology (as also in Chinese traditional usage), 'to become a son' (*kö'ün bol-*) meant 'to become a subject or vassal', and it is in this sense that Barčuq employs this expression. See Mo, 209.

For *subut* (= mo. *subud*) '(small or smaller) pearl', see *Matériel I*, 96; MA, 498a, s.v.; RH, 303, no. 11; Kara 1990, 325. Cf. Clauson 1966, 33-34; Huang SC 1984, 210. For *tana* (pl. *tanas*) 'big pearl', see above, n. 133. For *načit* '(gold) brocade(s)', see Pelliot 1927a, 269-271, n. 1; CEME, 2-4, 28-29 et passim; Cleaves 1991a, 135; Moriyasu 1994, 88-89. This gold brocade – the medieval 'Tartar cloth' *par excellence* – was a cloth of gold and silk, i.e. a brocade with ornamental threads made of gold; however, in its restricted meaning it designated gilded cloth or brocade and, in several sources, it is often paired

with the term *nakh* (i.e. pers. *nax*, mmo. *naq*; see below, n. 274), also referring to cloth woven of silk and gold. Although *načit* (w.f. *načid*), a word originally borrowed from pers. *nasīǰ* and, ultimately, arab. *nasj*, is already a plural (of **načis* or **načiš*), we find its double plural form *načidut* (w.f. *načidud*) in § 274. Being obsolete in the 17th-18th centuries, this word is substituted with *način* 'falcon(s)' in AT[1], 86b (cf. ATL, 168; for *način*, see TMEN, no. 1728). For double plurals in Mongolian, see GWM, 73, § 277. For *dardas* 'damasks', a plural of *darda*, cf. mo. *darda* 'a kind of flowered Chinese silk (ch. *chuang-tuan* 粧緞) (Les., 233a). On this word, see CEME, 28; Moriyasu 1994, 84-91, no. 11. For *torqat* 'silks', a plural of *torqan*, see above, n. 135. A further item, satins (*a'urasun*), is included among the 'gifts' brought by Barčuq to Činggis Qan. For *a'urasun*, see above, n. 234. These were only some of the regular articles supplied by tributary nations. Cf., e.g., MR, II, 124-125; MP[3], 138. See also § 274. Other gifts, such as white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, are mentioned in the next section (§ 239). Cf. also §§ 248, 249, 250, 252, 260, 264, 265, 267. The items varied, but they were always the most precious things that a subject people could offer (besides the people themselves, as slaves), and the ones which were especially valued by the court at the time.

The daughter of Činggis Qan who was given in marriage to Barčuq is called Al Altun in the SH, a reading only partly confirmed by the AT[1], 86b, which gives Ilqaltun (*read* Ilaltun) Beki (*or* Begi), amended to Al-altun-beki in ATL, 168. A comparison of the various forms of the name in the Persian and Chinese sources indicates that her name was probably Altan ('Gold') in Mongolian and Altun ('Gold') or El (~ Il) Altun ('Peace-Gold') in Turkic; for the title of *begi* or princess, see above, n. 49. Cf. RCAC, 128 ad fin.; Boyle's remarks in HWC, 47, n. 17; Li, 176, n. 238. See also Huang WP 1964, 34 and [40], line 11. On the common Turkic name Altun (used in this form also by the Mongols), see OuECD, 145-146, no. 2; Pelliot 1944a, 175; *Chapitre CVII*, 72, n. 3; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The name Al Altun of the SH appears to be a mongolized form (*el* → *al*) of her Turkic name. However, L. Bese (p.c.) is of the opinion that the name Al Altun must be interpreted as 'Flame-scarlet Gold', which may well be the case. For tu. *al* 'scarlet, vermilion' > mo. *al* id., cf. Poppe 1955, 38; TMEN, no. 517; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Al.' According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 70), she was the fifth and favourite daughter of Činggis Qan. Cf. YS^2 109, 2760a. For her marriage vicissitudes owing to Barčuq's premature death, see RCAC, 128. Cf. Li, 176, n. 238; Mu, III, 87, n. 10.

§ **239**. This section has been translated in full and richly annotated by Paul Pelliot in NCHK, I, 5, 55-64. See also his NHHO, 141-142; Li, 177, n. 239; and Mu, III, 92-104. As pointed out by Pelliot, the SH account of the expedition against the so-called People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and other tribes inhabiting the region of the Irtysh, Angara and Yenisei (Kem) rivers is in reality a conflation of two separate events which occurred in 1207/08 and 1218/19 respectively.

The voluntary submission of Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat and his tribe, the Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Oyirat, belongs to the former date, whereas J̌oči's expedition – with Buqa's participation – against the rebellious forest tribes belongs to the latter date. Quduqa Beki had previously allied himself with J̌amuqa, the Naiman and the Merkit (see §§ 141-144). His territory was the region along the Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol (the 'Šisgis' of § 144 and the 'Šiqšit' of our § 239; see below), just west of Lake Khubsugul (Xövsgöl Nuur) and flowing into the Dod (Dood Nuur); however, it must have extended considerably to the south-west. When the army led by Činggis Qan, J̌oči and others moved in 1200 against the Naiman and Merkit forces assembled in northwestern Mongolia, its vanguard (possibly led by J̌oči) reached Quduqa's territory, whereupon Quduqa not only submitted without resistance, but also agreed to guide the Mongol army to the place where his former allies had in the meantime gathered, i.e. the area of the Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers about

700-800 km to the south-west. The famous battle on the Irtysh, the death of Toqto'a and the rout of the Naiman-Merkit army are vividly recounted in § 198 of the SH, albeit s.a. 1205 (see n. 198). At this stage of the operations there is no possibility of another major expedition much further north in the Angara-Yenisei region against the forest tribes, involving Boroqul and Dörbei as well as J̌oči. Of these tribes, the Kirghiz (in our text: Kirgisut, pl. of Kirgis) had offered their submission to Činggis in 1207, following a Mongol embassy there. Rašīd says that they revolted twelve years later and that J̌oči was sent to subjugate them. J̌oči crossed the frozen Selenga and Yenisei rivers, and brought the Kirghiz and their neighbouring tribes (Urasut, Telengüt, Keštimi, etc.) back to allegiance. See SL^2, I/1, 123; I/2, 256. Surely, the Kirghiz' revolt and J̌oči's campaign of 1218/19 were directly related to the reverse suffered by Boroqul and his death in 1217 during the campaign against the Qori Tumat. The latter had apparently refused to acknowledge Mongol suzerainty over their people and had seized Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki (§ 241). Boroqul and Dörbei Doqšin were sent to deal with them, but Boroqul was killed in an ambush. The SH (§ 240) makes Dörbei successfully complete the subjugation of the Tumat. According to other accounts, the Mongols asked the help of the Kirghiz against the Tumat, but they refused, whereupon J̌oči was sent to bring all the rebellious forest tribes into submissions: this, then, is the winter 1218/19 expedition, with Buqa leading the vanguard. Kirghiz, Tumat and other People of the Forest were brought into submission. This final campaign is the one referred to in the present section of the SH, s.a. 1207. For a different view, see Buell 1992, 4ff.; and the Editorial Note in ČK^2, 254-255. The SH chronology and presentation of facts for all these events is quite unreliable. The reference to a rebellion that took place exactly twelve years later, as well as repetitions in the SH account, make us suspect that we have here the same error of a full twelve-year cycle that occurs also in the previous sections (§§ 231 and 237). Cf. NCHK, I, 60, n. 58. However, there is also a strong possibility

that these events have been purposely anticipated, or brought forward, in the SH. See Appendix One. According to Pelliot, op. cit., 57, n. 30, Šiqšit – the place where the Oyirat's submission took place – may refer to either campaign; but in my opinion it can only refer to the 1208 submission of Quduqa Beki prior to the expedition to the Irtysh. In the Chinese interlinear version Šiqšit is glossed as 'a place-name', and in the sectional summary (Y^2 10, 17a) it is referred to as 'a territory' (地面). However, as stated in Hambis 1956, 286-287, and Pėrlėė[2], 10, this is undoubtedly the Šišgid Gol, already mentioned as 'Šisgis' in § 144 in connection with Quduqa Beki's movements. Šisgis (= Šišγis) is a metathetical form of Šiqšit (= Šiγšid). For final *d* ~ *s*, see IMCS, 109. The AT[1], 42a, 87a, has the corrupt forms Sigsig and Singsing. For this river see also above, n. 144.

In the sentence 'Quduqa Beki ... made them submit at the Šiqšit *River*', the Mongolian for 'to make submit' is *oro'ul-* (= mo. *oroγul-*), lit. 'to make enter (as subjects).' Cf. Cleaves 1951, 88, n. 82. Following the Chinese sectional summary, Pelliot (NCHK, I, 5) translated: 'Qudugha-bäki ... le fit arriver à Šikhšit.' Oz[1], VI, 93-95 (cf. Oz[2], II, 134), Do[1], 269, and Ev-Pop, 201, also take *oro'ul-* literally in the sense of 'to make enter, penetrate, etc.', on the assumption that Šiqšit was a region, territory or valley. However, the Ming translators were not aware that Šiqšit was in fact a river, hence their misinterpretation of *oro'ul-*, a verb that occurs immediately after with the meaning of 'to cause to submit, bring under submission', and simply as *oro-* 'to submit' immediately before. If taken literally, *Šiqšit-tur oro'ulba* would mean 'he made them enter into the Šiqšit *River*', which was certainly not the case here.

According to § 207, Qorči was given authority over the People of the Forest from his base on the Irtysh, and was ordered to bring these people under control – obviously not an easy task judging by later developments, Mongol authority over the whole region between the Irtysh, the Yenisei, the Angara and the Selenga being still rather loose. The Tö'ölös and Telengüt people were also to form part of Qorči's new

myriarchy. Qorči is mentioned again in § 241, but only in connection with the submission of the Qori Tumat.

We do not know which Buqa is the one mentioned as J̌oči's guide. Some scholars, such as Wang Kuo-wei and Ligeti, believe that Muqali's younger brother is meant; others claim that he is to be identified with Buqa Güregen (no. 81 in the list in § 202). See Pelliot's comments, op. cit., 56, n. 37; Li, 218, s.v. '*Buka*.' Subsequently Pelliot took the view that this Buqa was 'probably' Muqali's brother. See HCG, 370. For the verb *qaǰarčila-* (= mo. *γaǰarčila-*) 'to accompany someone to show him the way', see Cleaves 1956a, 394, n. 17. Quduqa Beki, the chief of the Tümen Oyirat, is known also as the father of a son who married a daughter of Činggis Qan (see below), and of a daughter called Oqul (w.f. Oγul) Qaimiš – not to be confused with the homonymous wife of Güyük – who married Möngke Qa'an. Quduqa eventually became one of the commanders of a thousand of the right wing in Činggis' army – his unit, recruited from Oyirat tribesmen, actually numbering four thousand men. See SL^2, I/2, 269.

As noted by Pelliot, op. cit., 56, n. 38, *tümen* 'ten thousand' is merely an epithet prefixed to names of tribes; cf. Tümen Tübegen ('The Ten Thousand Tübegen'), Olon Dongqayit ('The Many Dongqayit'), etc. See above, n. 150. The Oyirat are the historical Oirat ancestors of the Kalmucks, and the Buriyat the ancestors of the modern Buriats. The former had first been mentioned in § 141 also in connection with Quduqa Beki; the latter's name appears here for the first and only time. Cf. Bese 1988, 21-22. The Barqun (the plural form Barqut is the one used by Rašīd al-Dīn) are to be identified with the ancestors of the present-day Barguzin Buriat and the Bargu(t) of NW Manchuria. See above, n. 8. The Ursut (Rašīd al-Dīn's Urāsūt) lived apparently next to the Kirghiz and the Qabqanas, whose territory was at the very sources of the Yenisei. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 124; Hambis 1957, 25-30. For the Qabqanas ~ Qamqanas, see also Cleaves 1956a; Hambis 1957, 30-31, and idem 1970a. The Qangqas, about whom nothing is known, are omitted from the

corresponding passage in AT[1], 87, as also, inadvertently, in H, 79, and Ra, X, 44. The Tubas are the ancestors of the modern Tuba, the so-called Black Forest Tatars, of the Altai Republic (Respublika Altaĭ, RF). Cf. IAL, 41. The Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Kirgisut (tu. Qïrqïz) are the 'true' Kirghiz, not those sometimes referred to as Kirghiz who are in reality Kazakh. Cf. Čeveng 2000, 81-82. Their territory at the time was 'five post stations' from that of the Oyirat, beyond the Yenisei. See NCHK, I, 58-59, n. 45. For this people and their name, cf. also CLC, 335-382; CKMKSCK, 286-293; Poppe 1955, 39-40; BT, II, 344; Pulleyblank 1990 (with a useful bibliography on pp. 107-108). Yedi Inal and Aldi Er's mission is mentioned in the YS[2] 1, 14, s.a. 1207; cf. also the SWCCL[1], 57b-58a. The names Yedi Inal ('Seven' + the tribal chief's title *ïnal*), Aldi Er ('Six Men') and Örebek Digin ('Prince Örebek') are all Turkic. On Aldi Er, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Al.' For the title *digin* (pl. *digit* = *tigin*, *tigit*), see above, n. 182; for that of *ïnal*, see TMEN, no. 1900; Zieme 1978, 72-73, 79. Cf. also BT, II, 139. The Šibir are the Sibir (Rašīd al-Dīn's 'Ibir Sibir') beyond the Kirghiz and further north in northwestern Siberia. Cf. also Pritsak 1989. The Kesdim are the Kestimi or Keštimi of Rašīd al-Dīn. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 124-128; CLC, 332-334. 'Tenlek' is a mistake for Teleng (pl. Telengüt; cf. § 207), the modern Telengit in the Altai Republic. The Tö'eles (~ Tö'ölös; cf. § 207) are the Töleš, another Turkic tribe of the Altai. Cf. above, n. 207, for these two tribes. The Bajigit correspond to the Bašgirt, i.e. the modern Bashkir. Cf. P.B. Golden in *AEMA* 1:1975, 34-35. The other names listed in § 239 cannot be easily identified. However, *pace* Pelliot (HCG, 87-89; NCHK, I, 60, n. 52), the Bayit may well be related to the modern Bayat or Bait (on which see Čeveng 1996, 112-113, 118), cf. Bese 1988, 19; the puzzling 'Tuqas' may correspond to either the Kazakh Toghas clan, or the Ordos Bɣχas clan; and there is another Kazakh clan called Tas, as noted by Aristov. See NCHK, I, 60, nn. 53, 56; Hambis 1970a. For the above identifications and further literature on the subject, besides NCHK, I, 57-60, nn. 40-57, and NHHO, 141-

142 and notes, see Han Ju-lin in CLC, 335-382, and Cleaves 1956a, both containing also important notes on other forest peoples (apart from the Kirghiz and Qabqanas) mentioned in this section; and NNRS, Index, s.vv. The articles by K. Sodnom in *Mongolica* 2 (23):1991, 256-266, on the Oirat and by A. Očir in MNT, I, 70-72, on the Oirat and Buriat mentioned in the SH cannot be regarded as scholarly contributions to the subject. For the distribution of the tribes as given by Rašīd al-Dīn, see SL^2, I/1, 121-123, 150-151. Most of these tribes were Turkic-speaking, or at least predominantly so.

'Up to this side', lit. 'hither' (*inaqši*), i.e. 'up to our side (= territory)', in other words, from the furthest to the nearest tribes.

For 'gifts', i.e. tribute in the form of rare and valuable articles, cf. above, n. 238. In the present section are listed (twice) white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables. White gerfalcons were especially prized, also for their symbolic (good omen) value. See above, n. 63. For the use of (ger)-falcons by the Mongols in the 13th century, cf. the references in Marco Polo's account. See MP^3, 426a (Index); and the important contribution by S. Jacquesson (Jacquesson 2000). White being a colour of good omen, white geldings were regarded as a favoured mount, reserved for high officials such as *bekis*. Cf. § 216. And black sable furs were, of course, a very valuable commodity and luxury items, as they have always been, and as shown also in §§ 96, 104 above. It should be noted that the pre-eminent position of the white gerfalcons as gifts is confirmed by the fact that they are the only ones mentioned in the shorter version of this event in SWCCL^1, 58b. The passage with the second reference to the gifts brought to Činggis Qan by the leaders of the People of the Forest is translated and discussed in Mo, 223.

Čečeyigen who, according to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 70) was Činggis' second daughter, was given to the Oyirat chief to cement the alliance with the People of the Forest. This chief was Quduqa Beki's eldest son Inalči according to the SH account or, if we follow Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/1, 119; I/2, 70), his

younger son Törölči. The YS supports the latter's version. See YS[2] 109, 2762. According to the YS and other Chinese sources, Princess Qolui (Qoluiqan is the diminutive and endearment form), a granddaughter of Činggis, was married to one Qada. The disagreement between the various sources has been discussed by Pelliot (NCHK, I, 61-62, n. 59). The name Qoluiqan is written 'Holuiqan' in the SH and this orthographically incorrect form has been adopted in Cl, 173, and Oz[1], VI, 89; however, the correct form with initial *q* (Qoluyiqan) is confirmed by AT[1], 87a. The name Inalči is Turkic and may represent an original Ïnalčïq, or even Ïnanč, both names deriving from official titles. See HCG, 102; ED, 184b, 187a; TMEN, nos. 669, N34=1979. Cf. also EM, 486. As for Čečeyigen (= Čečeiken), Poucha claims that this name is a diminutive form of *čečeg* 'flower.' See GGMGL, 83. Cf. Rybatzki [2003]; s.v. In Poucha's opinion, the intermediate *-i-* is an hypocoristic suffix used in conjunction with '*-gän*', i.e. *-ken*. There are several problems with Poucha's interpretation, tempting as it may be and earlier adopted in Ra, X, 68, following a personal communication from N. Poppe who referred to Vladimircov 1925a, where it is stated that the suffix *-qan/-ken* functions not only as a diminutive suffix, but also as a feminine ending. Cf. GWM, 42, § 124. Poppe gave as an example of this usage the name of Dayan Qaγan's wife J̌imisken ('Fruit') Qatun in the inscription of Čaγan Baišing. See ITB, 31, line 6. However, as pointed out by L. Bese (p.c.; cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 15), the suffix in question is essentially a diminutive suffix, since there are plenty of masculine names also ending in *-qan/-ken*. Furthermore, it is morphologically unusual in both Turkic and Mongolian for the final *-k/-g* (*čeček/čečeg*) to disappear before suffixes; and the *-i-ken* of Čečeiken is a Turkic, not a Mongolian, double suffix (cf. tat., kaz. Urazaikai, Urazaiqan, from *uraza* 'gift'). We are, therefore, in the presence of an original name Čeče ~ Seče (cf. AT[1], 87a: Sečeyiken). This is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn and J̌uvainī, who give the form Čečeken throughout. See SL[2], I/1, 119; I/2, 70 ('Čičigan' = Čečeken);

HWC, 274, n. 7, 506, 608, 611, n. 21. Both Čeče and Seče, and the latter's 'diminutive' form Sečeken, are found as proper names in the sources of the Mongol period. See SH, § 120: Seče Domoq; *Successors*, 171: 'Cheche'; *Chapitre CVII*, t. 23: 'Čäčä (= *Säčä[n])'; *Chapitre CVIII*, 22 and t. 2: 'Säčägän.' Initial *s* > *č* and/or *s* ~ *č* before the initial *č* of the second syllable is regular in Turkic and Mongolian words; it follows, then, that AT Sečeyiken is also correct and, from another point of view, it may indeed represent the older form in respect to SH Čečeyigen. The ambiguity is reflected in the double name Sečen Sečeyikün (for Sečeyiken) of ET[3], 42v05, and Sečen Čečeyiken of GOM, 110. One should add that the alternation in suffixes, such as we observe in SH Čečeyigen v. SL Čečeken is also quite common in Turkic names. However, the name Čeče ~ Seče does not, at least in the present instance, necessarily correspond to Mongolian *čečen* ~ *sečen* 'wise', but, in Bese's opinion, to tu. **sečä* ~ **čečä* 'mother, aunt'; cf. kirg. *čeče*, kaz. *šeše* 'mother', etc. As for Qoluiqan, a similarly formed name, Bese suggests a derivation from tu. *qul* 'slave' (p.c.; cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 15). On the other hand, Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 201, 297, n. 38) relate it to *qolui* (= mo. *qoγolai*, kh. *xooloĭ*) 'throat', and render it as 'Jolie-Voix.' I am not convinced by either derivation. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v., for a further etymology (< mo. *qol* 'centre, main, etc.').

The reference to Činggis' daughter Alaqa Beki (read, as usual, Begi) being given in marriage to the ruler of the Önggüt in the south, although historically correct, is not actually related to the events described in this section, viz. the submission of the People of the Forest up north. It has clearly been added, for the sake of completeness, in the context of marriage alliances concluded with Činggis Qan.

The alliance with the Önggüt raises several problems that have been discussed at length by Pelliot in NCHK, I, 63-64, n. 60; and RCAC, 263-267. Cf. also the more recent investigations by Chou Ch'ing-shu 周清澍 and Hung Yung-pin 洪用斌 in CKMKSCK, 147-206 and 207-229 respectively; and, especially,

Chou CS 1981. Princess Alaqa, or Alaqai, married the Önggüt prince J̌inguê, the earlier mentioned nephew of Alaquš Digit Quri (see §§ 182, 190, and above, n. 202), ca. 1211. Alaqa(i) was then about twenty years old. Cf. also the important notice on 'Alaqai-bägi' in Chou CS 1981, 164-168, no. 1. For the name Alaqa(i), 'Siberian marmot', see Bese 1978, 355-356, no. 3; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

'You, eldest of my sons ... the fortunate People of the Forest.' This passage has been translated and discussed in Cleaves 1949, 106-107, n. 64; cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 530-531; and *Lettres*, 31. 'Who only *now for the first time* have left home (lit. "the tent")', i.e. to go to war, indicating that J̌oči had thus reached manhood. Cf. Ögödei's words addressed to Güyük in § 277. At the time (1207/08), J̌oči must have been twenty-three years old, but this was his first important campaign, and one in which he played a leading role. 'You have been lucky', lit. 'you have had a good "way" (*mör*).' For *mör* 'way' = 'luck', see A. Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1949, 107, n. 64. For the expression *ere aqta* (= pmo. *ere aγta*) 'man *or/and* gelding', cf. Cleaves 1949, 106-107, n. 64; idem 1952, 108, n. 168; TMEN, no. 638. The use of the term 'fortunate' (*ölǰeitü*) with reference to the People of the Forest may sound strange, but it is appropriate because, by submitting as they did, they were not only spared death and destruction, but their chiefs also became closely related to the Mongol ruling family through marriage. No greater fortune could befall a subject of Činggis Qan than to become his son-in-law (*güregen*). For Činggis' granting the People of the Forest as patrimony to his eldest son J̌oči – a sort of 'investiture' – see Vlad.[2], 130. Cf. also Jackson 1999, 18-19.

§ **240**. The Tumat or Qori Tumat (the Qori being one of their main subtribes) were mentioned at the beginning of the SH (§§ 8 and 9) in connection with their chief Qorilartai Mergen, the husband of Barquǰin Qo'a and father of Činggis Qan's ancestress Alan Qo'a. They lived in northern Mongolia, chiefly on the southwestern shore of Lake Baikal and in the forest region

between this lake and Lake Khubsugul. Rašīd al-Dīn places them in the Barquǰin Tögüm, i.e. the Barquǰin Lowland further east, between the Selenga and Barguzin rivers. See SL[2], I/1, 122. The association of the Tumat with the Barquǰin territory is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the very name of Qorilartai Mergen's wife. We must, therefore, assume that this forest tribe was scattered over a wide area at the time.

The campaign against the Tumat and the death of Boroqul (Boro'ul) must be placed s.a. 1217. See SL[2], I/2, 178, 255-256; SWCCL[1], 72b; and YS[2] 1, 20, where the account of these events is at variance with the SH version. Cf. HCG, 375; Li, 177, n. 240; Cleaves 1956a, 393-394 and n. 12; and Appendix One. In this section, Boroqul's name appears in both forms (Boroqul and Boro'ul). Cf. §§ 213 and 214.

Daiduqul Soqor and Botoqui Tarqun mean Daiduqul the Blind and Botoqui the Fat respectively; however, the two epithets 'blind (*or* "one-eyed")' and 'fat' are not necessarily disparaging attributes given by the Mongols to the Tumat chief and his wife, as I previously stated (Ra, X, 69, n. 240), but they were probably an integral part of their names. Cf. the name Du'a Soqor in § 3. See also Bese 1988, 34-35. For the name Botoqui, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.vv. 'Botoqui' and 'Tarqun.'

'Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan *with two others* – three men *altogether* – set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it', lit. 'When Boroqul Noyan arrived, three men set out from the great army to go before it' (*Boroqul Noyan gürčü qurban haran yeke čerig-eče urida yabura otču*). This sentence has been misunderstood by most translators (beginning with Na[1], 404), who took it to mean either that Boroqul *and* three other men set out, or that Boroqul set out *leading* three other men – in both cases forming a four-man advance party. Cf., e.g., Ha, 113; Ko, 175; Da[1], 231 (see also Da[5], 196); LDAT, 185; Po, 178; Ka, 152; El-Ar, 773 and 774, n. 3 (quoting Ko); Ja, 359; Ma, 306; Oz[1], VI, 102 (see also Oz[2], II, 135); Ev-Pop, 202. Ozawa also renders *haran* with 'retainers' (家人), i.e. 'Boroqul Noyan, together with three retainers, ...' See his

discussion in Oz[1], VI, 103-106. The Chinese sectional summary appears to support such an interpretation, insofar as it renders the Mongolian text as follows: 'When Boroqul arrived, he ordered (令) three men to go in front of the great army' (Y[2] 10, 20a). See Pa, 132; Wei, 157; Wa, 287. However, Ligeti (Li, 110) and Murakami (Mu, III, 89) have understood the text correctly, whereas Cleaves' translation is ambiguous ('When Boroγul Noyan arrived, three men departing from the great army to go in front'). See Cl, 174. If we examine the original, we notice that it has no word for 'and', '(together) with', or 'ordered, sent,' etc.; it is a simple case of apposition, quite common in Mongolian: 'Boroqul Noyan – three persons …', Boroqul Noyan being one of the three persons. (There is no need to render the word *haran* as 'retainer', since 'person' or 'man' is its most likely meaning here; cf. the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary [三人], and for the primary meaning of *haran* as 'person, individual', cf. now also the RH, 203, no. 9.) For this type of apposition, see, e.g., Mo, 29-30 (§ 90). Unfortunately, the sectional summary version misled Haenisch and many after him who have misunderstood the Chinese text. The word *ling* 令 'to order' stands here, as it often does, for *ling* 領 'to lead, be at the head of', so that the text must be rendered 'When Boroqul arrived, he, leading three men (i.e. a three-man party [consisting of himself and two others]), went in front (= ahead) of the great army.' For 令=領, see DKJ, I, 387.1 (2). On the basis of information contained in § 241, Murakami (loc. cit.) identifies the other two members of the party as Quduqa Beki and Qorči, but this is by no means certain in view of the conflicting accounts. See below, n. 241.

'In the evening' (*üde ǰilda*). For the expression *üde ǰilda* = *ǰilda* 'evening', see Mo, 172-173. Cf. above, n. 177.

'In the dense forest', lit. 'in the difficult (*berke*) forest.'

'And were off guard', lit. 'without realizing (*or* unaware)' (*uqamsar*). *Uqamsar* < *uqa-* 'to realize, perceive, understand' + dev. noun suff. *-msar* (= eng. '-less'). For this expression and

the '*suffixe privatif*' *-msar/-mser*, see Oz[1], VI, 106-8, n. 2; and above, n. 56.

'And prepared to move.' For the verb *tu'urbi-* (= mo. *tuγurbi-*) 'to prepare oneself, to get ready (to do something)', see 'Trois documents', 474-475.

'Pleaded with him', lit. 'persuaded (*or* advised) Činggis Qa'an.'

Dörbei Noyan of the Dörben tribe, known also as Dörbei Doqšin ('the Fierce'), reappears in § 261. On him, see Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 402; and below, nn. 257 and 261. The notice of his appointment as leader of the punitive mission against the Qori Tumat is followed by certain data of a military and ritual nature which are worth noting. First comes the injunction of marshalling the troops 'in strict order' (lit. 'with severity'), the expression used being *qatangqui-a ǰasaǰu*, which implies the enforcement of the *ǰasaq* in cases of breach of discipline. This is, in fact, confirmed by the disciplinary measures that Dörbei introduced 'by ordinance' (*ǰasaqla-*) when the army made its way into the forest area. See Ratchnevsky 1974, 476. Secondly, the injunction to pray to Eternal Heaven before starting the campaign in order to obtain its protection and increase Dörbei's strength and power. Cf. § 199. This is the first and only time that the SH uses the word *ǰalbari-* 'to pray' at the beginning of a military expedition, but we know from other sources that prayer was a regular feature of their worship of Heaven, *pace* John of Pian di Carpine. See MTPL, 17a; HTSL, 21a (cf. CG, 77, 140, 141, 187); MM, 9. Cf. also *Lettres*, 29; and above, n. 172. Thirdly, the strategy used on this occasion to confuse the enemy. The expression *hoqtorqui erbegelǰe'ül-* designates the well-known tactic of moving troops to feign an attack from a certain direction, while the main army makes a detour and attacks from the direction where the enemy least expects it. Its meaning is 'to make a false (= simulated) troop movement', lit. 'falsely (*hoqtorqui*) to cause *troops* to move (*erbegelǰe'ül-*)', i.e. to make a decoy movement or manoeuvre. I have discussed this technical expression in detail in Ra, X, 69-70, n. 240. Cf. Oz[1],

VI, 110-114, n. 7. See also HTSL, 22b (cf. CG, 191); MM, 36; and above, n. 195, for other military tactics. It should be mentioned, however, that for Cleaves the expression in question meant 'to spread false rumors abroad.' See Cl, 174 and n. 27. For the deployment of patrolmen or scouts (*qara'ul*) in a typical situation as described here, see HTSL, 20a-b. Cf. CG, 183.

'To advance', lit. 'to go (*or* proceed)' (*yabuqu*).

'By paths trodden by the red bull' (*hula'an buqa-yin yabuqsan mör-iyer*). These words occur again a few lines further down and all between is parenthetical. However, for stylistic purposes I have had to break the long passage into separate sentences. The interpretation of the expression *hula'an buqa*, lit. 'red bull (*or* ox)' presents some difficulties. It is certainly not a place-name, as Pa, 132 and Wei, 157, have assumed it to be owing to a misinterpretation of the Chinese sectional summary. See Y^2 10, 20b. The reference is undoubtedly to a particular animal, as both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary clearly indicate. It was the tracks made by these animals in the mountain forest that the Mongol soldiers followed, enlarging them as they went by felling trees, etc., so as to allow the army to get through and reach the top of the mountain in order to fall upon the Tumat encamped on the other side of the range. To identify the animal with a wild ox or buffalo, as some have done (e.g. Na^2, 350; Ha, 113; Ko, 175; Li, 110; Mu, III, 90; Yao-Ja, III, 359) is a mistake, because this animal did not inhabit that part of northern Mongolia. Since these events took place in the mountain taiga and forest region of the Baikal, the animal in question was almost certainly one of the large species of deer that still inhabit the area. In my view there are only two possibilities: the Manchurian red deer (*Cervus elaphus xanthopygos*) and the larger elk (*Alces alces*), both common in the Barguzin district, a fact recorded even by Marco Polo. See MP^3, 88. *Hula'an* (= mo. *ulayan*) 'red' may also designate various shades of brown. See Poppe 1977, 125-126. Cf. MA, 363a: *ulān görēsün* 'deer', lit. 'red wild animal', and bur. *ulaan güröөhen* 'winter *or* red roe-deer' (BRS, 466b).

'Carry ten rods', lit. 'carry ten rods on the back.'

For some interesting remarks on the words *uqali* 'adze', *ši'üči* 'chisel' and *ǰer ǰebsek* 'weapons', see Khomonov 1970, 37, 38. Cf. also RH, 283, nos. 10 (*hûli* = *uqali*) and 11 (*kirê* = *kirü'e*). For *ǰer ǰebsek* = mo. *ǰer ǰebes*, see Cleaves 1966, 41-42, n. 348. Cf. also TMEN, no. 170.

'They *took them* by surprise', lit. 'unprepared' (*genet*). On *genet*, a plural of *genen* 'unprepared for something unexpected', see above, nn. 104 and 170.

As noted by Ligeti (Li, 177, n. 240), the SH account of the second campaign against the Tumat has a strong epic flavour.

§ **241**. § 207 relates how Qorči, in reward for his services, obtained permission from Činggis Qan to take thirty beautiful women from among the people who had submitted to the Mongols. In the same section Qorči had also been entrusted by Činggis with the creation of a myriarchy drawn from various forest tribes. Neither his capture by the Tumat, nor the capture of Quduqa Beki by the same people, were mentioned before. The narrative of these events is somewhat fragmentary and, as we have seen, chronologically out of order. Since this is also the case with the AT text of the SH, the 'disarrangement' of the material must have occurred at an early date. See AT[1], 88a-88b (ATL, 170-171); LDAT, 185-186. Cf. Appendix One. It will be remembered that in § 121 Qorči had asked Činggis Qan to allow him 'to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people', and to let him have thirty as wives in reward for his correct prophecy of Činggis' becoming 'lord of all.' In the present passage, the sentence *Tumat irgen-ü ökit qo'astan qučin emes abtuqai* has been rendered in different ways. Cf. Ha, 114; Ko, 175; Li, 110; Ra, X, 46; Cl, 175; Oz[1], VI, 122; Ev-Pop, 203. I now follow Mostaert (u.n.) in translating *qo'astan* (pl. in *-s* of *qo'a* 'beautiful' [cf. § 121] + *-tan*) as 'sont belles', an interpretation supported by the sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 22a: 'Qorči, knowing that the Tumat women were very beautiful, wanted to take thirty as wives'). For *qo'astan ökit* [*sic*!], cf.

Rassadin 1995, 114. For the words *Tumat irgen-ü ökit abqu ke'en otqu bolun*, see the remarks in Aalto 1973, 35. The nomen futuri (*-qu*) followed by *bol-* indicates intention, purpose or future action (= ch. *yao* 要). See Y^2, loc. cit. In Cleaves' translation, the word 'people' after 'of the Tumad' is missing. See Cl, 175. On Qorči's reward, cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 514, 527, n. 32.

'Because of the death', lit. 'because of the bones.' Cf. the expressions 'my dead bones' and 'to take the bones (= body)' in § 201, and 'to place the bones', i.e. 'to bury' in § 175, where the word 'bones' (*yasun*) is used to designate the body of the deceased and, by extension (as in the present instance), his death. This way of referring to the death of a person is rooted in the shamanistic beliefs of the medieval Mongols and in the tendency to avoid direct references to death. Also, as stated earlier (n. 201 above), the skeleton was regarded as the seat of a soul and had, therefore, numenous connotations. Boroqul's death is related in § 240.

For the granting of slaves to the family of a fallen hero, cf. the case of Quyildar, to whose widow and children Činggis Qan had also granted one hundred people taken from the Jirgin tribe (§ 185).

§ **242**. 'Gathering the people' (*ulus quriya'an*), i.e. rallying the clansmen and subjects who had become disaffected after the death of Yisügei. See § 73. However, I think that Činggis may also allude here to the support and advice he received from his mother during the arduous years when he strove to establish his authority over all the tribes of Mongolia. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 523.

The distribution of subjects among members of his family is mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn, but Rašīd's figures are at variance with those given by the SH and at times the difference is quite considerable. Chinese sources such as the YS provide additional information. The SH figures appear to be inflated. They have been compared and discussed in Li, 177-178, n. 242; Mu,

III, 108ff.; and in great detail in Sugiyama 1978. Otčigin's, i.e. Temüge Otčigin's share (*qubi*) is put together with that of Mother Hö'elün (10,000 people according to the SH; 5,000 and 3,000 respectively according to Rašīd) because Otčigin, being the youngest son, was the one who 'stayed home' and who by tradition inherited the hearth. See Vlad.[2], 60, 67, 126, 130; and above, n. 48. (In this section and in §§ 243 and 245, Otčigin is written Otčikin.) It is noteworthy that J̌oči, as Činggis' eldest son, is among the first three members of his family to receive a share.

'The mother was dissatisfied' (*eke čimatču*). Cl, 175, translates: '[although] considering the number too few', but *čimat-* (= mo. *čimad-*) implies dissatisfaction, resentment and, indeed, blame. Cf. HW, 27; Les., 184a; MKeT, 2780b.

'Did not complain', lit. 'did not utter a sound.'

J̌oči received 9,000 people (Rašīd: 4,000); Ča'adai 8,000 (Rašīd: 4,000); Ögödei 5,000 (Rašīd: 4,000); Tolui 5,000 (Rašīd: not given); Qasar, i.e. J̌oči Qasar, 4,000 (Rašīd: 1,000 to Qasar's three sons); Alčidai 2,000 (Rašīd: 3,000). Cf. SL[2], I/2, 274-277.

While J̌oči has been mentioned in the SH several times before (§§ 165, 210, 239), Činggis Qan's second son Ča'adai is mentioned for the first time in this passage. He was born ca. 1184 (see above, n. 104) and died in 1242, a year after Ögödei (see, however, *Successors*, 149 and n. 37). Compared with the wealth of information in the eastern sources, there is little on him in western languages; on the other hand, there is a vast literature on his *ulus*, i.e. the so-called Chaghatay Khanate of Central Asia which lasted until the middle of the 14th century. See EINE, II, 2a-4a; GSE, VIII, 540a; FSHCA, 172b (Index); and HTAC, 145ff. Cf. also NMP, I, 254. On particular issues concerning Ča'adai himself and his name, cf. *Chapitre CVII*, 57-64; NMP, I, 250-254, 287; NHHO, 63-64; HCG, 189, 265, 410; BT, II, 310; Cleaves 1949b, 417-418; Boyle 1975a, 36-37; MNT, I, 108; and YShi, 13-14. It is generally assumed that his

name derives from **ča'an* (= mo. *čaγan*) 'white' + the denominal noun suffix *-dai* (on which see 'Trois documents', 473-474; Poppe 1975, 162, § 2A), thus meaning 'the White.' However, mmo. 'white' is regularly transcribed as *čaqān* or *čaqa'an* (> *čaqān*) (= pmo. *čaγaγan* > mo. *čaγan*). See, e.g., R, 206a; *Matériel I*, 45; MA, 464b; VMI, 23; RH, 257, no. 26. Cf. IMCS, 27, 61; MXTXÜ, 40, 84-85. Bese 1978, 362-365, no. 13, was of the opinion that Ča'adai derives from tu. *čaqa/ čaga* (tat., kaz., turkm.) 'child' + the (tu.) denominal noun suffix *-dai/-tai*. Since in the SH we find forms like Ča'a'an (§ 153), Čahan (= Ča'ān) (ibid.), and Ča'alun (§ 157), a derivation from *ča'ān* 'white' (+ *-dai*) is likely. See above, n. 153. Cf. HCG, 283. The irregular form *ča'ān* (v. *čaqān*) is possibly due to popular or dialect pronunciation. In view of their still doubtful etymology, the names Ča'alun and Ča'adai are transcribed as such instead of Ča'ālun and Ča'ādai which, in my view, are the correct readings. The Written Mongolian form of SH Ča'adai is Čaγatai (= Čaγātai) < pmo. Čaγadai (= Čaγādai). Cf. Cleaves 1949b, 417-418.

The Alčidai mentioned in this passage was Činggis Qan's nephew, the son of his younger brother Qači'un, not to be confused with the military leader Alčidai of the J̌alayir, closely related to the commander of a thousand Ilügei (no. 5 in the list in § 202), on whom see above, n. 226 (also for the confusion and alternative readings of their name). On Činggis' nephew, and his name, cf. *Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n. 1; Li, 178, n. 242; Poppe 1975, 162.

Belgütei, Činggis' half-brother, received 1,500 people (Rašīd: not given).

Dāritai, the 'disloyal' uncle of Činggis Qan, was last mentioned in §§ 153-154, where it is related how he fell foul of Činggis for having disobeyed his orders concerning the plundering of the defeated Tatars. From Rašīd al-Dīn (SL^2, I/2, 48) we learn that soon after this incident Dāritai left the Mongol camp and went over to the Tayiči'ut, then to the Kereyit

('Gereyit' in our passage, see above, n. 134) and, eventually, to the Naiman and Dörben.

'I shall wipe him from my sight (lit. "eyes")' – a euphemism for 'I shall get rid of him', i.e. 'I shall kill him', as evident from the three *nököt*'s question 'How can you do away with him?' (*ker tebčigü*). Their argument is that to kill Dāritai, the youngest son of Bartan Ba'atur and guardian of the hearth, would be like destroying Činggis' own hearth; furthermore, since Dāritai was the only surviving brother of Yisügei, it would also mean severing the last remaining link (lit. 'reminder') with his late father – both powerful arguments. For Činggis' attitude towards the alienated kinsman, cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 102-103. For the word *geri'es ~ geriyes* 'souvenir, remembrance, etc.', cf. above, n. 208. For *sayin* 'good' = 'late, deceased', see above, n. 73.

'He *acted* without thinking, so spare him', lit. 'In (= because of) his not considering (i.e. because he acted without realizing the consequences of his action), let him be!'

'Allow the youngest brother (*nilqa*) of your good father …': here the word *nilqa* has the same meaning as the *nilqa* applied to Temüge Otčigin at the beginning of this section. Cf. above, n. 142. However, the phrase has been understood differently by Ozawa, ultimately following Ko, 176. Cf. Oz[1], VI, 132-135, n. 6; On, 135. But see 'Trois documents', 455, for the correct interpretation.

'To let the smoke of their camp swirl up', i.e. so that he and his family and kinsmen could go on living as before. See ibid.

'They reasoned with him', lit. 'they argued clearly (*or* reasonably) with him.' See Mo, 147, 150.

'Until *he was so moved that*/He snuffled, as if/He had smoke in his nose', i.e. until he was so moved by his *nököt*'s plea that he began snuffling as if he were affected by smoke in his nose. The expression *qabar-ača huni qangši-*, lit. 'to snuffle *out* smoke from the nose' = 'to be(come) deeply moved', must be an ancient idiom. (The equivalence is supported by the sectional summary [Y[2] 10, 25a] which says, 'Thereupon, T'ai-tsu [i.e. Činggis Qan] was deeply moved.') The whole sentence

has been rendered in different ways by other translators, the problem centering around the puzzling word *qangšitala*, converbum terminale of *qangši-*. I have discussed this problem in Ra, X, 73-74, n. 242; the following are additional comments and clarifications. Written Mongolian has a verb *γangsi-* 'to yelp, howl (of dogs)', cf. kh. *ganši-* 'to whine, whimper'; and *γongsi-* (kh. *gonši-*, *gunši-*) 'to speak through the nose.' See Les., 349b, 360b. Cf. Vietze 1990, 380. According to Les., 929b, the latter appears also in the form *qangsa-*. Although this form is doubtful, Yakut has a verb *xaŋsyi-* 'to speak through the nose, snuffle', which S. Kałużyński (MEJS, 109) has related to the SH *qangši-*, and which obviously cannot be separated from mo. *γangsi-*. Indeed, the unusual transcription of *qangšitala* in the SH (with initial *k* rather than *q*) may point to a word beginning with the voiced velar stop *γ*. Cf. Y^3 12, 5b; L^2, 208. Thus it is un-certain whether the verb in question began with *qa* or *γa*. Since in Mongolian a considerable number of words with front vocalism occur also with back vocalism and vice versa (cf. above, n. 204), it has been suggested that SH *qangši-* (? *γangši-*) = mo. *kengsi-* 'to have a dry cough.' See Oz^1, VI, 137-138, n. 7. It has further been suggested that SH *qangši-* = kh. *xan xiĭx* 'to emit a strong odour.' See TH, 164 (= ǰYT, 286). While I do not share this last interpretation, one cannot exclude that *qangši-* ~ *kengši-*, *if* the verb in question had initial *qa*, particularly since the meaning 'to cough' is supported by the interlinear gloss which has *ch'iang* 搶 'to rob, plunder', an obvious error for *ch'iang* 嗆 'to cough, choke.' Cf. Do^1, 273, 275, n. 4. Although the precise translation of the SH idiom is still subject to discussion, its meaning is perfectly clear.

'Right!' renders the Mongolian *je deli* (= *teli*), lit. 'So that!' = 'Let that be so!', 'Enough of that!', etc. On this expression, by which the subject indicates that he has finally made up his mind, see Mo, 173 and n. 156 (where the entire sentence is translated). Cf. §§ 242, 246, 256, 265, 277.

For Šigi Qutuqu's role in this episode, see Ratchnevsky 1965, 97-98; cf. ISK, 80.

§ 243. In this section Činggis Qan nominates the chiefs in charge of the people distributed among his family. The list given by the SH complements and, at the same time, supplements the information found in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, on which see Li, 178, n. 243. All the chiefs are mentioned among the commanders of a thousand listed in § 202: Güčü (no. 17), Kököčü (no. 18), J̌ungsai (= J̌ungšoi, no. 33) and Qorqasun (= Qorqosun, no. 19; on this name see Bese 1974, 92); Qunan (no. 7), Möngke'ür (= Mönggü'ür, no. 40) and Kete (no. 51); Qaračar (no. 29), Möngke (= ? Möngkö Qalǰa, no. 53) and Idoqudai (= Iduqadai, no. 66; on this name see Poppe 1975, 162, and Bese 1978, 367, no. 18); Köke Čos (= Kökö Čos, no. 30); Ilüge (= Ilügei, no. 5; on this name see ibid., 367-368, no. 19) and Degei (no. 11); J̌edei (= J̌etei, no. 23) and Bala (no. 35); J̌ebke (no. 45); Ča'urqai (no. 59).

'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious' is, I believe, a more accurate rendering of the Mongolian *Ča'adai keče'ü buyu narin aburitu buyu* than my previous translation ('Ča'adai is obstinate and petty-minded'). See Ra, X, 47. For the words *keče'ü* (= mo. *kečegüü*) 'hard, headstrong', and *narin* 'meticulous, punctilious', cf. TMEN, nos. 327, 380; and Mo, 187, n. 169. The Persian sources confirm that Ča'adai was headstrong and severe, and excessively preoccupied with the proper observance of the rules of etiquette and the enforcement of the Mongol customary law. Cf. HWG, 271ff.; *Successors*, 137-138, 147-148. Cf. also Heissig 1976a, 278, 287, nn. 10, 11; Vlad.[2], 139; and the SH, §§ 270-271. Because of his difficult and unbending character, Činggis wanted him to have constantly at his side a reasonable and level-headed man like Kökö Čos, whose skill in 'thinking', i.e. in sound advice, is well illustrated in § 254.

It is not certain whether the Ča'urqai mentioned in this section and in § 202 is the same person as Ča'urqan, the elder

brother of Sübe'etei, on whom see §§ 120, 124 and 127; as well as §§ 183, 184 and 185, where he is called Čaqurqan (= pmo. Čaγurqan > Ča'urqan, see above, n. 183). Murakami, following Naka, assumes that he was. See Na^2, 278; Mu, I, 228-229, n. 11; II, 380, 65. Pelliot is inclined to take the same view (HCG, 164); and, although Cleaves lists Ča'urqai and Ča'urqan as separate personages in Cl, 236b (Index), I am personally convinced that they are one and the same person. See above, nn. 120 and 183.

§ **244**. Mönglik Eči'e (= Ečige), or Father Mönglik, was last mentioned in § 204. Some of his sons are well known: Tolun Čerbi and Söyiketü (~ Süyiketü) Čerbi are mentioned several times in the SH, and these and the other offspring are also mentioned in the Persian and Chinese sources. See Hambis 1975, 40-45 (where, however, the author, by wrongly identifying Söyiketü Čerbi with Sutu [? Sütü], i.e. Rašīd al-Dīn's Sutu Noyan [see SL^2, I/2, 272; cf. Li, 179, n. 244] in his genealogical table on page 45, reduces the number of Mönglik's sons from seven to six). Mönglik's most famous, or rather notorious, offspring was undoubtedly his fourth son Kököčü, who had gained immense prestige among the Mongols on the strength of his supernatural powers. Relying on his authority and influence over Činggis Qan, in whose enthronement in 1206 he had apparently played an important role (see above, nn. 123, 202), Kököčü overreached himself and went as far as challenging Činggis' leadership, but failed and was destroyed, as vividly narrated in the sequel to the present section of the SH. For the Persian accounts, see HWC, 39; SL^2, I/1, 167-168; I/2, 150 and n. 4. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 99-100; Hambis 1975, 8ff. Although Kököčü is generally referred to as a shaman (also, more recently, in ČK^1, 38 et passim; Kitagawa 1984, 67; ČQT, 652; ČXC, 120), W. Heissig and E. Endicott have pointed out that this is a later assumption made on the strength of his designation as a 'magician/shaman' (*wu* 巫) in the Chinese summary of the present section of the SH (Y^2 10, 31b), with the interlinear

gloss explaining the appellation Teb Tenggeri as a 'magician/shaman's title' (*wu-ming* 巫名). See Heissig 1984, 319; Endicott-West 1999, 224 and n. 3. Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[1], 15 [1888], 112; SL[2], I/2, 253) describes Kököčü as a wonder-worker and a man endowed (or believed to be endowed) with prophetic powers, but neither the SH nor the Persian authors ever refer to him as a real shaman (mmo. *bö'e*; pers. *bōve* [read *bö'e*], see TMEN, no. 112). His prophetic skill may be compared to that of Qorči (see §§ 121, 207), who was certainly not a *bö'e*. Nevertheless, Kököčü bore an appellation or epithet which beyond doubt reflected his unusual qualities and powers but the exact meaning of which is still a subject of controversy. Pelliot and others following him (Grousset, Hambis, etc.) are of the opinion that Teb Tenggeri means 'the Very (*or* Most) Celestial (*or* Divine).' See Pelliot 1944d, 182-184 (refuting Vladimircov's previous interpretations); CW, 176; ČK[1], 88 (where the reference to 'Pelliot, *Sur la légende d'Uγuz-khan*' in note 27 is incorrect; the correct reference being to Pelliot 1944d cited above. The error has passed into ČK[2], 248, n. 30). For a review of all the interpretations proposed before 1967, see Cleaves 1967, 248ff. Cf. also Heissig, loc. cit., where Teb Tenggeri is translated as 'the fully heavenly.' In FTC, 21, H. Franke renders it 'Arch-Heaven.' The section on Kököčü in Humphrey 1994, 202-203, is an assemblage of errors and misinterpretations. Pelliot's interpretation has been challenged by Cleaves who, in his learned article (pp. 259-260), reached the conclusion that Kököčü's epithet actually means 'Lord Cunning.' I expressed my reservations on Cleaves' argument in Ra, X, 75-76, and concluded my discussion as follows (p. 76): 'Thus, in spite of certain difficulties, which I think can be solved, Pelliot's interpretation in my view still holds true. Even though it is not grammatically correct in Mongolian to strengthen a substantive – as opposed to an adjective or colour-name – by means of a reduplicative prefix like *teb* (before a word beginning with the syllable *te*), Teb-Tenggeri may well be an *ad hoc* expression, i.e. coined, as it were, in order to express a

certain idea for a special purpose. "The Very Divine" is, indeed, a most appropriate designation for such an eminent personality as Kököchü undoubtedly was. Furthermore, as already pointed out by other scholars (see Cleaves, op. cit., p. 253), the epithet, so understood, finds a correspondence in the shaman's real name Kököchü, which derives from *kökö* "blue".' The major difficulty to which I referred, i.e. the 'improper' use of the reduplicative prefix in the expression *teb tenggeri* 'the very divine', is no longer insurmountable, since we find in Preclassical Mongolian expressions like *ǰu̯b ǰu̯giyer* 'in the most befitting manner', with the prefix *ǰu̯b* reinforcing the following noun *ǰu̯g* 'manner', which by itself is not an adverb. See Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 34. Cf. also Gaadamba 1969, 169. Furthermore, as noted in Pelliot 1944d, 182-184, the Mongolian expression apparently has its exact counterpart in Uighur, which, if correct, shows that the Mongolian expression is merely a calque of the Turkic one, not surprising in the circumstances. (The word *činggis* of Činggis Qan, the title which according to Rašīd al-Dīn was chosen for Temüǰin by Teb Tenggeri, is also a Turkic, not a Mongolian, word; see above, n. 123.) The other serious problem raised by Cleaves is the use of Teb instead of Teb Tenggeri twice in § 246: if Teb is a prefix, it obviously cannot stand alone. See Cleaves 1967, 257. However, as clearly shown by the sectional summary (Y^2 10, 45a) and the corresponding passage in AT^1, 98a, 98b, it is simply due to a scribal error that on two occasions the word Tenggeri is missing after Teb in § 246: the manuscripts used by the compiler(s) of the sectional summary and by the author of the AT both had the full form. Although, in view of the above, one may assume with Pelliot that Teb Tenggeri is 'une expression toute faite' meaning 'the Very Divine' or, perhaps better, 'the All-Divine', I have now a different interpretation to propose that combines, as it were, those of Pelliot and Cleaves. The latter, extrapolating from Pelliot 1944d, is of the opinion that the word *tenggeri* must be taken here with the meaning not of 'Heaven', but of 'Lord', an opinion which I share. But I still take *teb* as the reduplicative

(intensive) prefix, and render the whole expression as 'the very lord', or 'the lord of all.' This brings immediately to mind the still puzzling Turkic title *qapγan* (? < **qabqan* = red. pref. *qab* + *qan*) '? the very ruler, the ruler of all, the *qan* of *qans*', which *may* be formed like the later *teb tenggeri*. Cf. TMEN, III, 177-178; de Rachewiltz 1989, 296-297 (5). This is largely hypothetical, but such a title or epithet borne by Kököčü at the time when Činggis was himself elected *qan* of the Mongol nation or confederation was bound to cause trouble. It is obvious from Kököčü Teb Tenggeri's pronouncement (as the interpreter of 'heavenly signs') in which Činggis Qan is called Temüǰin, that either the event took place before the latter's election, or that Kököčü is being purposefully disrespectful to his master. Ligeti has pointed out that the story of Teb Tenggeri is chronologically out of place, and that the SH account of his demise has an epic colouring. See Li, 179, n. 244. The date 'AD 1210' in On, 137 (cf. the 2001 ed., 228, n. 537), is extrapolated from the sequence of events in the SH, the next recorded date being 1211 (§ 247), and is purely arbitrary. I cannot close the discussion without quoting the following remarks contained in a letter from Prof. M. Erdal of 24 October 1982: 'For the reason you give, Cleaves' explanation is probably unacceptable; I think, however, that I have a better suggestion than the grammatically very awkward Pelliot explanation (in Old Turkic, too, the intensifying reduplication applies only to adjectives and particularly colour names). Iranian *dēv*, a cognate of Sanskrit *deva*, is attested in Middle Persian, Parthian and Soghdian with the meaning "devil" and, more commonly, "demon." It has also been borrowed into some modern Turkish languages and I seem to remember having seen it in some Old Turkic text published sometime during the last years. (There have early been thoughts on how the gods of the Indo-Iranian tribes your side of the Indus became demons on my side of it, in grey antiquity.) "Demon-God" or "God of the Demons" is, I submit, an even likelier appellation for a prestigious chief shaman than "The Very Divine", even if that were a grammatically possible rendering. (I don't see any

problems with the qualities of the consonants).' I should add that a possible derivation of *teb* from skr. *deva* had also been proposed by G. Clauson in *JRAS*, 1956, 76. Cf. Cleaves 1967, 252.

'Ganged up' (*ömereǰü*): cf. above, n. 78.

Qasar is J̌oči Qasar, Činggis' younger brother, famous for his physical strength and skill in archery, on whom see above, n. 60 and § 195; Hambis 1975, 8-9, n. 13 et passim.

'While Qasar was *still* talking, Činggis Qa'an in his anger said to him', lit. 'While he was talking, Činggis Qa'an in his anger said to Qasar.'

'At this', lit. 'being *so* told' (*ke'egdeǰü*). Cf. Poppe 1964, 368.

'*Concerning* the ruler (*qan*).' Here *qan* (~ *qa*) does not refer to Činggis Qan, but to the ruler(ship), i.e. governance, of the Mongol nation (*ulus*). For this use of *qan*, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 273 (e). Cf. above, n. 57, and below, n. 249. For H. Franke (FTC, 21), the words *möngke tenggeri-yin ǰarliq qan* form a meaningful unit which he renders as 'order-king of eternal Heaven', but *möngke tenggeri-yin ǰarliq* is a standard formula of which the Chinese counterpart is 長生天的聖旨. See Y^2 10, 32a. Cf., e.g., YTPHPCL, 21, no. 21 (opening line).

'Has been *fore*told by *heavenly* signs', lit. '*heavenly* signs *fore*tell.' Cf. §§ 121, 206. In § 206, *ǰa'arin* 'sign, portent' is actually preceded by *tenggeri-yin* 'heavenly' (see below).

'Once they say that …, once that (lit. "they say that") ... .' Teb Tenggeri's words forecasting either Činggis Qan's hold on the supreme power, or Qasar's assumption of that power, have been discussed both in the context of the Mongol perception of Heaven's role with regard to Činggis' political designs, and of his own enunciation of a world-conquest program sanctioned by Heaven. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 27; Smith 1994, 207, 212, n. 8 (Smith's criticism of my rendering of the word *ulus* with 'empire' as anachronistic is well justified). However, I think that the chief value of the SH account lies in the fact that it highlights an existing rivalry between Činggis and his younger

brother for which there is supporting evidence also from other sources. See above, n. 183.

'If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise' (*Qasar-i ese nende'esü*). For *nende-* 'to attack by surprise', see above, n. 166.

With regard to Güčü and Kököčü (of the Besüt), we know from the previous section (§ 243) that they had been appointed with J̌ungsai and Qorqasun as commanders in charge of the subjects assigned to Hö'elün and Temüge Otčigin.

'When the mother heard *this*', lit. 'The mother having learned *this*.'

'At sunrise', lit. 'with the sun rising.'

To remove one's hat and belt was an act of abdication of power and of total submission. Cf. §§ 103 and com., 117; CEME, 48. In the present instance, Činggis was humiliating his brother to an extreme degree, for he had also tied up the opening of his sleeves, so as to immobilize him – a very powerful man – during the interrogation, which was no doubt a brutal one. 'To interrogate', lit., 'to question *one's* word(s)' (*üge asaq-*).

'By the mother descending upon him', lit. 'being reached by the mother.'

'Qasar's sleeves, *the opening of* which had been tied up' (*Qasar-un huyaqsat qanču*). For these words, see Mo, 184.

'Laid them over her knees', lit. 'made them extend over and beyond the two knees' (*qoyar ebüdük dege'ün bisari'ulǰu*). For *dege'ün* 'over', cf. Ligeti 1971, 146-147. For *bisari- ~ bisqari-* 'to overflow, run over', cf. Mostaert 1939, 328; de Rachewiltz 1982, 60-61, n. 60; Cleaves 1991, 132, n. 18, 133, n. 24. *Bisari'ulǰu* is the nomen imperfecti of the factitive of *bisari-*. In the corresponding passage of the AT, we find *bis<a>γariγulǰu*. See AT[1], 95a.

'They are the breasts that suckled you', lit. 'The breast that you have sucked is this.'

After 'these' (*ede*) – referring to Činggis Qan and Qasar – there follow the two puzzling words *qadalun da'un*, which are not glossed in the interlinear translation and are also not rendered in the sectional summary. I have discussed them in Ra, X,

79, and tentatively rendered them (following suggestions made by Pelliot [Pe, 96, n. 5] and N. Poppe [p.c.]) as 'she stressed quoting *ancient words*' (ibid., 48). Other interpretations have since been proposed (Do[1], 276, 280-281, n. 6 [cf. Do[2], 180 and n. 7]; El-Ar, 784, 787, n. 16; Oz[1], VI, 152, 161-162, n. 12; Če, 224, 462, n. 552), none of them satisfactory in my opinion. Cl, 177, has wisely refrained from translating them. The corresponding passage in AT[1], 95a, has *γadaγun qarbisun. Γadaγun* = mmo. *qada'un* 'outside.' Cf. SH, § 124: *qada'un* id.; see HW, 56. *Qada'un qarbisun*, 'outside afterbirth', is something of a tautology, but quite acceptable insofar as it designates the placenta *after* it has been released outside. It is possible, I think, that the AT has retained the original correct reading, and that this has subsequently been corrupted through scribal error. But this would not explain the presence of the word *da'un* in the SH. By some stretch of the imagination one could take *da'un* (= mo. *daγun*) as a mere dittography, viz. the repetition by a careless copyist of the last two syllables of *γadaγun*, and ignore it. This is a remote possibility, whereas the change of *γadaγun* to *qadalun* may have been made under the influence of the text in § 78 where the poetic image of the fierce *qasar* dog 'snapping at its own afterbirth' first occurs, and where the very word *qadalun* 'citing' is also found, applied to Hö'elün. Otherwise it could be a simple orthographic fault due to the addition of an upper hook for *l*. Whatever the case, the Ming translators encountered two words spelled (in Uighur script) Q'T'LWN T'QWN which they transcribed *qadalun da'un* and, not knowing what to make of them, left them untranslated. I am now in favour of reading the two words as *qada'un ta'un*, *qada'un* (= Q'T'QWN, i.e. *γadaγun*) meaning 'outside' as explained above, and *ta'un* (T'QWN, i.e. *taγun*) meaning 'rushing', lit. 'driving (*or* pursuing)', converbum modale of *ta'u-* (= mo. *taγu-*) 'to drive, chase, pursue', the resulting compound thus meaning 'rushing out', i.e. out of the womb. (Cf. ch. *kan* 趕 – the standard gloss of *ta'u-* [*taγu-*] – meaning both 'to rush' and 'to drive.' See HW,

145; MKT, 993c). The same idea is expressed at the very beginning of 'Hö'elün's Lament' in § 78: *qala'un-ača minu qalat qarurun* 'From the warmth of my *womb*,/When he broke forth fiercely.' The Qasar episode treated here and Mother Hö'elün's second 'lament' which, through poetic imagery, relates it to the first – the reference to the *qasar* dog biting its own afterbirth and J̌oci Qasar is, again, not a fortuitous one – has been analysed and discussed from various angles. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 520; idem 1987, 102, 105; Sárközi 1978, 151.

'Birth cord', lit. 'navel' (*küi*). Hö'elün means: you are bent on destroying your own flesh and blood – the same message conveyed in § 78. See the sectional summary (Y^2 10, 32a-b); cf. Wa, 288. In translating this passage, Hambis 1975, 11, has followed the sectional summary, not the Mongol text.

Qači'un and (Temüge) Otčigin were Hö'elün's two younger sons (see § 60), and what the mother means is that they were not as voracious, i.e. fierce, as Temüǰin and Qasar.

'Between them', lit. 'the two of them together.'

'Until my bosom relaxed', lit. 'until my bosom (*če'eǰi*) became wide (*a'ui boltala*).' For *a'u*, *a'ui* (= mo. *aγuu*, *aγui*) 'wide, broad', cf. *Matériel I*, 37.

'Has skill of mind (*če'eǰi*)', lit., 'Has skill of bosom': there is a word-play here, *če'eǰi* (= mo. *čegeǰi*') meaning both 'chest, breast, bosom' and 'mind, intellect.' See MKeT, 2733, (1) and (3). Cf. our 'heart' = 'mind.'

'Has skill in archery/And might' (*qabu güčü erdemtü*). *Qabu* 'arrow-shooting' and *güčü* 'might', here = 'physical strength', are two separate nouns as clearly shown by the sectional summary (Y^2 10, 32b), not a compound meaning 'good archery' as understood in Oz^1, VI, 153 (cf. also Oz^2, II, 142), and Ev-Pop, 205. *Qabu* (= mo. *qabu*, *qaba* 'skill in hunting, handling a bow, etc.'; see Les., 900a) is incorrectly transcribed 'ḥarbu' in H, 81, and 'ḥarbul' in HW, 61, and correctly as 'ḥabu' in HW, 55. Pelliot has commented: 'Haenisch a lu qarbu et qarbul (gloss.), mais cf. le mot kitan pour "tirer à l'arc."'

[P.P.- C.R.A.C.]. For the Kitan word to which Pelliot refers, see F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 231. For *qabu*, cf. also TMEN, no. 257. For a previous poetic description of Qasar's feats with the bow and his prodigious strength, see § 195. For the word *hontuča-* 'to shoot arrows at a long distance', which occurs again in § 254, see de Rachewiltz 1976, 490, 500-501, nn. 25-28 (with regard to n. 28, the correct reading in AT[1], 95a, is *ontudču*, as stated on p. 490).

'Those on the run', lit. 'those who went out.' 'To go out' (*qar-*, mo. *γar-*) is the opposite of 'to go in' (*oro-*) = 'to submit, join.' Thus, 'those who went out (*or* escaped)' were rebel or fugitive tribesmen (*bulqa irgen*), i.e. enemies (*daisun* [= *dayi-sun*] *gü'ün*), whom Temüjin was in the process of bringing under control. Hö'elün (or, rather, the anonymous author of this piece) wishes to emphasize here the capital role that Qasar, the redoubtable champion archer and great warrior, had played in the 'rallying of the tribes' by his brother, the future Činggis Qan, with an implicit criticism of the latter. For the last two lines of the poetic passage, cf. Poppe 1969, 274.

'But now, saying that you have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar', lit. 'Now, saying, "I have destroyed the enemy people", you cannot behold Qasar.'

'He stealthily (*ečine'ün*) took away.' For *ečine'ün* (= pmo. *ąčinegün*) 'by stealth, secretly', see Ligeti 1971, 146-147.

'Let Qasar have', lit. 'gave to Qasar.' As stated earlier in the SH (§ 242), Qasar had originally been granted 4,000 people, but after the ugly incident related in this section, Činggis, obviously not appeased by his mother's entreaties, dispossessed him of about two-thirds of this force in order to weaken him and, in this way, remove the threat he allegedly posed. However, as pointed out by Hambis (op. cit., 13), Qasar was subsequently appointed one of the leaders in the war against Chin, in the course of which he apparently died. The circumstances of his death are obscure, but not necessarily suspicious. His three sons were treated without favour by Činggis, who appointed them

only as commanders of a thousand. See HCG, 172-173. Cf. EM, 206 and n. 3.

'The thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*', lit. 'by that thought she went quickly straight (= straightaway) *into old age*', i.e. she aged quickly and died before long. J̌ebke of the J̌alayir tribe, who belonged to Qasar's apanage or yurt, was one of the commanders of Qasar's people appointed by Činggis. See §§ 137, 243.

§ **245**. In this section we reach the inevitable climax of the confrontation between Kököčü Teb Tenggeri and Činggis Qan, resulting in the former's downfall and death. It is clear from the beginning of the section that Teb Tenggeri and his clan – the Qongqotan – were enticing entire groups of tribesmen belonging to Činggis and his family to leave their masters and join them. Among the people thus enticed were also some from those minding Činggis' 'horse station' (*kirü'e*; see above, n. 229) and from Temüge Otčigin's subjects. Who the defectors were is not clear (perhaps deliberately so): the text refers to them cumulatively as the 'people of nine tongues', lit. 'people having nine tongues (= languages)' (*yisün keleten irgen*), an expression that occurs only (and twice) in this very section of the SH. Since the word 'nine' (*yisün*), having the connotation of completeness, also has the meaning of 'many, various, all' (cf. above, n. 60), it has been generally assumed that the expression in question designates various groups of tribesmen within the Mongol confederation speaking different languages or dialects, in other words 'all sorts of people.' See Pa, 238, n. 519; Wa, 289; Ha, 162, n. 245; Da[5], 201; Mu, III, 116; Oz[1], VI, 180, n. 1; Га, 393, n. 643. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 2; ČK[1], 82, n. 1 (where, however, Ratchnevsky's suggestion that the nine 'tails' of the great white standard [*tuq*; see above, n. 73] represented the nine subdivisions or tribes of the Mongol people is, in my view, anachronistic and unwarranted since it is related to the later tradition of the *Čaγan teüke*, see WG, 304ff.); Fletcher 1986, 13. The number 'nine' is also often associated

with particular ethnic groups or confederations of tribes in both Turkic- and Mongol-speaking Central Asia, such as the Nine Oγuz (Toquz Oγuz), identified with the Nine-clan Turks (*Chiu-hsing T'u-ch'üeh* 九姓突厥), and the Nine-clan Tatars (*Chiu-hsing Ta-ta* 九姓韃靼) of the Chinese sources. See Pelliot 1929a, 125-126 and n. 1; Sinor 1985, 155-156. Cf. also the later Nine Great People (*Yisün Yeke Ulus*) of the *Čaγan teüke*. See WG, 304-317. As for tribes or people possessing various kinds of tongues, in the AT (anon.) of the late Ming we find those referred to as 'having dark-brown tongues' (*barān keletü*), 'having many tongues' (*olan keletü*) and 'having good tongues' (*sayin keletü*). See ČQČ, 115; MCAT, 189. The ones characterized as 'having many tongues' are the Kereyit, no doubt because of their multi-ethno-linguistic components. In view of the fact that 1) the SH text seems to refer to a *specific* group, which included the personnel of Činggis Qan's horse station and Temüge Otčigin's subjects, and 2) the Kereyit as a distinct tribal grouping no longer existed by then (they are not mentioned as such after §§ 186-187), I wonder whether the expression *yisün keleten irgen* of the SH may not be an oblique reference to a particular group of clans which were formerly part of the Kereyit tribal confederation and which, taking advantage of Teb Tenggeri's rise to power, decided to leave Činggis Qan and join Teb Tenggeri's camp. We know from §§ 186-187 that after Ong Qan's defeat, Činggis Qan distributed the Kereyit people 'on all sides' and 'among each other so that nobody went short', and that Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus received one hundred J̌irgin in reward for his services. It is worth nothing, in this connection, that Teb Tenggeri's wife was herself a J̌irgin, i.e. she belonged to one of the major subtribes of the Kereyit (see above, n. 170), as clearly stated by Rašīd al-Dīn, a fact that would further strengthen the interpretation just proposed. See SL^2, I/1, 132 (where 'Khirkun', i.e. Ḫīrqūn, must be read J̌īrqīn). Cf. ČK^1, 64, n. 115 (= ČK^2, 69); SC, I/1, 217. For J̌irqin ~ J̌irgin, cf. HCG, 56-57, 398. To conclude, it should be mentioned that several later Mongol chronicles and epics, such as the ET, the

Geser Qan and Khalkha epics, also mention people speaking a variety of tongues, a subject that requires further study. Cf. ET[3], 68r01-02, GOM, 201 ('three tongues'); TBGC, 11 ('different tongues'); KMGĖ, 103, and HEKM, 146 ('nine tongues'). For a further reference to 'a different tongue', cf. also Cleaves 1986, 192, n. 8.

In this section, Temüge Otčigin is called Otčigin as well as Otčigin Noyan. Cf. above, § 195.

'Gathered under', lit. 'gathered at (Teb Tenggeri's camp)', i.e. they went over to him.

'To request' (*quyira*). For *quyi-* (= mo. *γuyu-*) 'to ask, request', cf. BGĖG, 167-168, § 5.

'I am grateful to both Otčigin and you' renders *Otčigin ta ǰirin elčiten* (read *ačitan*) *bolǰu'ui.* The emendation *ačitan* 'deserving gratitude' (lit. 'having benefit') has been suggested by A. Mostaert on the basis of the AT reading *ači-tan* (AT[1], 96b; the 'elči-ten' of ATL, 175, is an arbitrary and misleading emendation), also because the text as it stands does not make much sense. See Ra, X, 81; Cl, 179, n. 53. The expression *ačitan bolǰu'ui* corresponds to modern *ačitai bolula* 'I am very grateful', 'thank you.' See Les., 8b; DO, 35b. Teb Tenggeri sarcastically thanks Temüge Otčigin and Soqor for the 'gift' of the horse which he has just seized from the latter. I have no doubt that Mostaert's interpretation is the correct one, but there is by no means agreement among modern scholars, some of whom prefer to read *elčiten*, and (in the case of Ligeti and Bese) understand the sentence in question as 'You have to send two envoys, Otčigin.' See Li, 112; Bese 1987, 48-51. Bese, op. cit., 50-51, claims that the point of Teb Tenggeri's remark concerns 'the diplomatic customs' of the nomadic peoples which required 'sending two envoys on the basis of mutual agreement.' In the present instance, Temüge Otčigin 'violated this rule by sending only one envoy to Teb Tenggeri, who took revenge by humiliating the envoy.' Against Bese's argument one can point out that in § 181 of the SH there is a clear indication that a single messenger can be sent instead of two on a diplomatic mission,

and other examples can be adduced. The word *ǰirin* 'two, both' is also understood differently by other scholars. Cf. On, 137 and n. 309 (cf. the 2001 ed., 228, n. 539), where the opinion is expressed that since *ǰirin* is usually employed in the feminine (cf. above, n. 70), Teb Tenggeri is deliberately insulting Temüge and Soqor by calling them 'ladies', thus also 'implying that they have an exaggerated idea of their own importance.' However, the word *ǰirin* is also used as a masculine or neutral form. See SH, § 278 (R, 169, lines 11637, 11701); ET[3], 25r01-02, 59r01, 87v04, 100r19. For further discussions on the interpretation of Teb Tenggeri's words, cf. Do[1], 281, n. 8; Oz[1], VI, 180-183, n. 2; Oz[2], II, 157, n. 2.

As noted by Ligeti, to make a horseman carry the saddle on his back and send him home on foot is a humiliation; even more so is to force someone to apologize kneeling behind one's back, as Temüge Otčigin was subsequently compelled to do. See Li, 179, n. 245.

'From all sides', lit. "from here and from there' (*endeče tendeče*).

'You were right to send … I was wrong to send', lit. 'Your sending … is right … My sending … is wrong.'

'Sat up in bed', lit. 'raised herself and sat.' *Öngdeyi-* 'to raise oneself' corresponds to mo. *öndeyi-* id.

'She *herself* shed tears', lit. 'she let tears fall.'

'What are those Qongqotan doing?' lit. '*They are* Qongqotan doing what, those?'

'What kind of behaviour is this?', lit. 'What sort of manner (*yosun*) is it?'

'They covertly injure (*oyisulaldumui*) even (*bel*) these younger brothers of yours.' For the verb *oyisula-* ~ *oyisulat-* 'to secretly harm', see above, n. 68.

For the passage 'And truly … view *all this*', see Mo. 155-159. The following are a few additional remarks. 'Like a great old tree': both the ideas of 'great' and 'old' are implicit in the word *ne'üle* (= mo. *negüle*[*n*]), hence my rendering. Cf. Mo, 156. 'Like the stone base of a pillar' renders *tulu metü*. The

word *tulu*, glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as *chu-chüeh* 柱腳 'base of a pillar', is used metaphorically here for 'the mainstay (of the nation).' This is an image which the Mongols almost certainly borrowed from the Chinese, since pillars and bases of pillars are alien features in a nomadic culture. Just as we would speak of a great man being 'a pillar of the state', the Chinese, using the same metaphor, would refer to him as either 'a pillar of the state' (*kuo-chu* 國柱) or 'a pillar-base' (*chu-shih* 柱石, lit. 'pillar-stone'), because the supporting strength of the (wooden) pillar resided in its stone base. The expression *chu-shih* corresponds to the *chu-chüeh* of the SH gloss. It should be noted that in the Ölöt Kalmuck dialect, *tul* actually means 'supporting beam; pillar.' See KW, 409b. It is therefore possible that, in spite of the Chinese gloss, this was also the original meaning of *tulu*. The reading *tulu* is confirmed by the corrupt form *toli* of AT[1], 97a. The regular word for 'pillar, column' in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian is *tulγa* (= mmo. *tulqa*). See above, n. 167. Cf. also MKAT, 21; and bur. *tulga*, id. The poetic passage in this section is repeated in slightly modified wording in § 254. By comparing the subject people to tangled hemp and a flock of birds, Börte indicates that they are troublesome and difficult to rule. Cf. the words of Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman in § 189: 'Will he (i.e. Tayang) be able to care for and control/My numerous, base and unruly people?'

For the words 'By whom will they let govern your people …', see also Mo, 186, n. 167.

'How will people … *ever* allow', lit. 'People … how will those (*tede*) allow.' The pronoun 'those' (= 'they') is expressed following *ya'u mede'ülkün*, but Cl, 180, joins this *tede* to the next sentence, which already has one. Cf. the previous *ken-e mede'ülkün tede*. See Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1949, 133, n. 266, also for *ki'ül-* (= mo. *kigül-*) 'maltraiter.'

'Little "naughty ones"' (*üčügeṯ ma'un*) is a term of endearment for one's sons. See Mo, 158. Cf. above, n. 177; and Street 1990, 193, n. 29.

For Börte's role in the whole affair, see Hambis 1975, 14, n. 23. Cf. above, n. 118. The entire passage is also translated in Hambis, op. cit., 13-14.

'Whatever you may *wish to* do *to him* within your power (*or* to the best of your ability), it is for you to decide!', lit. 'However you may act, as much as you are able, you decide!' (*čidaqui-ača ker ba üiyiletdü'esü či mede*). For *čidaqui-ača*, cf. TDB, 28, 118 (F 11r), and 167, n. 122. For *üiyiletdü'esü*, AT[1], 97b, has *üiledbesü*. Mostaert (u.n.) writes: 'A propos de la gémination de *n*, quelque chose d'analogue se remarque dans § 245 üiyile*t-d*ü'esü.' Činggis tells his brother that it is up to him to do what he can – in other words, Temüge is free to act and can even kill Teb Tenggeri if he finds the means. It is understood, however, from the oblique phraseology employed, that this has to be done in an appropriate way. I think that, given the exalted status of the personage, a bloodless death is implied.

'Whereupon', lit. 'At that.'

'Three strong men' (*qurban bökös*). Some translators prefer to render *bökös* (pl. of *bökö*) as 'wrestlers' or 'wrestling champions' (see, e.g., Li, 113), since *bökö* means both 'strong man' and 'wrestler.' See above, n. 41. However, both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 42a) translate it as 'strong men' (*li-shih* 力士), hence my rendering.

For *öčigen üdür* 'yesterday', cf. MA, 273a; RH, 238, no. 7; DO, 765b. (*Öčigen* alone means 'the other day; lately, recently'; cf. §§ 77, 84, and earlier on in this section. See HW, 121.)

'In front of the fireplace' (*qolumta teri'ün-e*). *Qolumta* (= mo. *γolumta*) is the fireplace, or hearth, in the centre of the tent; the expression *teri'ün-e* literally means 'at the head', thus *qolumta teri'ün-e* is 'at the head (= in the front part) of the fireplace', rather than 'on top of the fireplace', as the interlinear gloss leads us to believe. To render *teri'ün-e* with 'on the edge' and 'at (*or* by) the side', on the basis of the Chinese sectional summary (Y[2] 10, 42a), is also not accurate. It seems to me that the Ming translators were themselves not sure as to the meaning

of *teri'ün-e*. To take this expression as referring to the back or north side of the fireplace (On, 138; Ev-Pop, 208) would imply that Temüge Otčigin and Teb Tenggeri were wrestling at the back of the tent, which is not the case since, as the SH informs us, they were then near the door, i.e. in the south side of the tent, with Father Mönglik sitting next to the wine table, also in the south side. This, as we know from earlier references in the SH and Rašīd al-Dīn, was not Mönglik's usual place (see above, n. 208), but it may have been an exceptional circumstance and, in any event, if we are dealing with a semifictional account (as is probably the case), we cannot expect strict accuracy. Thus, as correctly stated in El-Al, 800, n. 34, and Oz[1], VI, 191-192, n. 14, *terigün-e* can only mean *emüne-e* 'in front.' The losing of the hat on the part of Teb Tenggeri is clearly a bad omen, the hat as covering symbolizing protection, as well as – together with one's belt – power and authority. See above, nn. 103, 244. As A. Sárközi says, Father Mönglik 'knew his son had met his fate' (Sárközi 1978, 148). To enhance the pathos of the scene we have an additional touch with Mönglik's smelling of the hat, a personal garment, also a symbolic act of remembrance and love, and one we have already encountered in § 55, in the famous episode of Yeke Čiledü and Hö'elün's shirt.

'Match each other's strength and might', lit. 'compete with each other for the strong man's might.'

'At the threshold of the door.' The text has 'between (*ǰa'ura*) the threshold of the door', which is not clear. The author probably means 'within the threshold', i.e. in the area immediately adjacent to the threshold, hence just outside the door of the tent. At any rate, this is how the Ming translators of the SH seem to have understood the phrase. See Y[2] 10, 42a. Cf. Wei, 160.

On the two lines of carts placed to the right (= west) and left (= east) sides of the tent, see Mo, 163.

For the correct meaning of *arqalaǰu* 'pretending, making the excuse that (as a reason for refusing a request)', see Waley 1960, 527.

'Not much of a companion, is he!' (*čaqtu nökör aǰu'u*): cf. above, § 170 and com. Temüge Otčigin's sarcastic remark is to the effect that he expected a better performance from a person like Teb Tenggeri who now, instead of fighting, lies on the ground pretending that he cannot get up. Temüge is adding insult to injury by implying that his opponent is behaving like a coward. It should be noted that, as in the case of J̌amuqa, the other great friend of Činggis Qan turned enemy, the SH makes Činggis liquidate the opponent by somebody else *and* without the shedding of blood. Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 257-262; Clark 1978, 54, n. 42.

For the section from 'Father Mönglik understood' to the end of § 245, see Mo, 160-164. The following are a few additional remarks on the text. The alliterative passage (in *da*) has also been discussed in Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 74-75. For the expression *dayir etügen* 'brown earth', besides Mo, 162, 191, cf. Cleaves 1949a, 501, 531-532; and Mostaert 1962, 202. 'Since the brown earth, etc.', i.e. from the very beginning. The term for the 'funeral tent' of Teb Tenggeri is *qošiliq* (L^2, 214: *qošliq*, but the correct reading is *qošiliq* = pmo. *qosiliγ*, as confirmed by AT^1, 98a; cf. ATL, 178), a word already encountered in § 80; in § 169 we find the related form *qoš* 'travel-tent.' See above, nn. 80, 169; and ATI, 237b. For the custom of laying the dead in a conical felt tent, cf. CG, 105, n. 1; Li, 179, n. 245. However, as indicated by statements in § 246, the *qošiliq* in question had a regular smoke-hole (*erüge*). The reason for moving camp after the slaying of Teb Tenggeri (and the subsequent disappearance of his body) is no doubt to be found in the ancient Mongols' taboo on the site of a death – particularly relevant in this case, since the violent death of a powerful man had taken place just outside Činggis' tent. Cf. MM, 185; MCPA, 64-67; and below, n. 246. It may also have been a prudent move, I think, in view of a possible retaliation on the part of Teb Tenggeri's numerous followers. The 'disappearance' of the body, i.e. the removal and obliteration of the *corpus delicti* must, I am sure,

also be explained in this light. However, since the entire episode as described in the SH is of doubtful historicity and uncertain chronology, one can only speculate. For a brief but perceptive summary of the whole affair, see ŽCTZ, II, 45-47. The word '**šimiliγa-*' in Mo, 162, second line from bottom, is a misprint for '**šimaliγa-*'

§ **246**. This entire section has been translated and discussed in Mo, 164-175. The following are a few additional remarks.

'At dusk', lit. 'when the *brightness of* day was yellow.' 'Bodily', lit. 'together with his body' (*beye selte*). It is debatable whether the text implies that his 'soul' left the tent through the smoke-hole, as in the classic shaman's ascent or 'flight', but in this case together with the body, as suggested in Humphrey 1994, 204. Cf. IBŠ, 245. I think the text merely says that Teb Tenggeri left the tent with his body, i.e. physically, although supernaturally since he was dead; this happened 'three days' after his death, and at the moment when the light of day 'was yellow.' All these elements are symbolic and introduced in the story to point at Heaven's direct involvement in the affair. Cf. §§ 21, 80. In other words, Heaven was so displeased with Teb Tenggeri that it not only caused his demise, but also bodily removed him from the scene so that nothing of him was left behind. Cf. Činggis' words 'he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life (*ami-yan*), together with his body (*beye selte*), has been taken away.' The 'taking away' of his life clearly occurred *before* that of his body, since the covering of the smoke-hole, the blocking of the door and the placing of 'people' (*hara* = *harat*) to guard the tent are all procedures connected with the taboo on sickness and the site of death. Cf. MM, 12, 14, 183; MP^3, 181; Ratchnevsky 1987, 76; and above, n. 245. Iššamc 1975, 133 (following Ko, 179), reinterprets the text and makes Činggis Qan say that Heaven was so displeased with Teb Tenggeri that 'it took away not only his soul but his very body!' For *ami(n)* 'life' = 'soul', cf. also Pyurbeev 2000. All in all,

within its legendary framework, the SH account is as consequential as that of J̌amuqa's end. For the words *ami-yan beye selte* …, cf. also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29. For the withdrawal of Heaven's favour and the dire consequences that follow, cf. §§ 143, 167. See also de Rachewiltz 1973, 27. 'In that part *of the tent*', lit. 'in that place of it (= the tent).' For the verb *ǰinggü-* (*ǰingkü-* in § 160) 'to slander', see also Ligeti 1972, 2-3, n. 3. 'You have paid *for this* with Teb Tenggeri's life', lit. 'you have come to *pay with* Teb Tenggeri's head.' Cf. the same usage ('head' = 'life') in English and other languages. 'You would have been dealt with like J̌amuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others', i.e. they (Mönglik and his other sons) would have been executed. For the fate of Altan and Qučar – the sons of Qutula Qan and Nekün Taiši respectively – about which this passage of the SH leaves no doubt, see § 181. 'If one retracts', lit. 'If one demolishes (*or* undoes).' The words for 'morning' in the idiom quoted by Činggis Qan (and about which cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 72; and Street 1986, 46-47 [92]) are *manaqaru* and *manaqar*, the former being merely a variant of the latter, as noted by Mostaert (Mo, 17-18), and not a faulty reading as indicated by Ligeti (L^2, 215). For these two words, see above, n. 159. Regarding the 'earlier pledge' of Činggis Qan to Mönglik, see § 204. 'Enough of this matter!' (*ǰe teli*). For this expression, cf. § 242, where it is rendered as 'Right!' because of the context. See above, n. 242. For a different interpretation of Činggis' words 'Had you restrained …', see Li, 114, 179, n. 246. Ligeti understands: 'If you had restrained their (i.e. your sons') unbridled nature, who could have competed with Father Mönglik's clan?' This is indeed the rendering favoured by most translators before and after Ligeti, from Naka to Even and Pop, with the notable exceptions of Mostaert and Cleaves. The reason why I rejected this otherwise plausible interpretation is (as, I think, correctly surmised by Mostaert) that such a statement on Činggis' part would have acknowledged the superiority of the Qongqotan clan over all the other clans – including Činggis Qan's own clan – which is most unlikely in

the circumstances. Moreover – and I regard this as conclusive – Činggis' statement is logically related to the one in the previous paragraph, viz. 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal *to me*.' In both instances it is the Qongqotan daring to challenge Činggis Qan's authority because of their ambitious nature. 'The *proud* air', lit. 'the mien' (*čirai*). Cf. above, nn. 196 and 208.

For another French translation of, and interesting notes and remarks on, § 246, see Hambis 1975, 15, 19, 33, 37.

§ **247**. With this section – the first of Chapter Eleven (= Sup. 1: 續集卷一) – begins the account of Činggis' campaign in north China against the Jurchens who, since 1115, had established themselves there as rulers of the Chin 金 state, replacing the Kitan/Liao 遼 (907-1115) and enlarging their kingdom at the expense of the Southern Sung 南宋 (1127-1279). The account in the SH covers the period 1211-1215 (§§ 247-253). This is followed by Činggis' Western Campaign, i.e. the expedition against Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm in Central and Western Asia of 1218/19-1225 (§§ 254-264), and by his final war against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia 西夏 in 1226-1227 (§§ 265-268) ending with the conqueror's death in 1227. These three phases are treated very superficially in the SH, which is principally concerned with domestic matters and internal developments within Mongolia itself, and they contain also many historical and geographical inaccuracies. See Section Six of the Introduction. The chief value of the SH narrative lies not in its historical reliability, but in providing us with an insight into these momentous events straight from the Mongol camp, as it were, and in enlivening them with numerous human elements, personal touches and important details which are lacking in the Chinese sources. These, together with the rich Persian sources, are much more accurate and complete as records of political and military events for this period, certainly one of the most confused in the history of Asia. Cf. Ligeti's pertinent remarks in Li, 180, n. 247. Insofar as the war with Chin is concerned, the

fullest account in any western language is still Martin which, owing to the fact that the author did not know Chinese, must be used with great care (even though H.D. Martin had two competent Chinese scholars to assist him in translating most of the sources, the reconstruction of proper names from the Chinese transcriptions is often unreliable). For the events under discussion, see especially pp. 130-180. A good survey of the campaign in north China is found in CCHC, 249-309. See also the important historical and geographical commentary by Naka in Na^2, 369ff.; the detailed notes to the relevant sections in Mu, III, 138ff.; as well as specialised studies such as Franke H 1978; Uray-Köhalmi 1984a; and Jagchid 1982. For the Mongol invasion of Chin, cf. also YTS, 137-145; LIC, 257a (Index); JTCC, 90, 96, 105, 109, 115; and ISK, 765a, 777b (Index). For general studies of the period and issues concerning Chin governance, economy, etc., also in relation to the Mongol conquest, see the works of Japanese scholars like Mikami Tsugio 三上次男 and Ikeuchi Isao 池內功 cited in the excellent bibliographies in LIC, 230-248; JTCC, 177-206; and FJC, 156-165. Numerous studies on various aspects of Jurchen culture and history have also appeared in China in recent decades, in publications like *YSLT*, CKMKSCK, CKMKS, and as monographs, the titles and/or summaries of which are found in the relevant issues of *CKSYCTT*, *CKYSYC*, and in the *JSYS*.

In the SH, the inhabitants of north China belonging to the Jurchen/Chin state are always called 'Kitat' or 'the Kitat people' (*Kitat irgen*). See § 53, where these terms occur for the first time; cf. n. 53 above, and NMP, I, 386-387. They included both Jurchen and Chinese people as well as sinicised Kitans who had been living in the northern provinces since the beginning of the tenth century. Further on in this section we encounter for the first time the designation 'Jürčet' (pl. of 'Jürčen'). On this name, see CLC, 466; SJR, vii-viii, n. 1. On its use by the Mongols, see below.

Vujiu, i.e. Fu-chou 撫州, was the northernmost outpost of Chin and therefore the first to take the brunt of the advancing

Mongol army in 1211. The site of Fu-chou has been identified in Chang-pei hsien 張北縣, in the former province of Chahar, now the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Its ruins are in present-day Hsing-ho ch'eng 興和城, known also by its Mongolian name of Qara Balγasun or 'Black Town', some 50 km north of Chang-chia k'ou 張家口 (formerly Kalgan). See GMCDN, 244-245. Cf. Serruys 1990/91, 219, no. 8.

Hünegen Daba'an (= mo. Ünegen Dabaγan), i.e. 'Fox Ridge', is the Mongolian translation of Chinese Yeh-hu ling 野狐嶺 ('Wild Fox Ridge'), the defile about 15 km north-west of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km north-east of Wan-ch'üan 萬全, known in Yüan times as E-hu ling 扼胡嶺. See YC 13, 1b-3a; YCPC 13, 1a; YSCK 10, 40a; and YTL 13, 1b. Passage through the Yeh-hu ling was by the strategic Te-sheng k'ou 得勝口, the pass known in the Yüan as Huan-erh tsui 獾兒嘴 ('Badger's Snout'). It was one of the main gateways to China from Mongolia and a regular route for invaders.

Söndiivu, i.e. Hsüan-te fu 宣德府, is the present-day Hsüan-hua hsien 宣化縣 in Hopei, on the road from Chang-chia k'ou to Peking. The name Hsüan-te fu is apparently anachronistic since this place was then officially known as Hsüan-te chou (州), the name being changed to Hsüan-te fu only in 1263. The change in the text would seem to have occurred after this date. See Hung 1951, 489-490; Li, 180, n. 247. For some evidence to the contrary see de Rachewiltz 1965, 196. The reconstructed Middle Mongolian forms in the transcriptions of the two towns of Fu-chou and Hsüan-te fu are variously given as Vu-ǰu and Sün-dä-vu (Pe, 99); Vu-ǰiu and Söndeivu (L^2, 216; but Fudzsiu [= Fuǰiu] and Szöndejfu [= Söndeyfu] in Li, 115); Wuǰiu and Söndiiwu (Cl, 183); Vijyu and Söndeyvu (St, 126, lines Y012 and Y013); Vuǰu and Söndivu (Ir, 236); Fuǰu and Sondefu (Oz^1, VI, 215); Fuǰeu and Siuen-de-fu (El-Ar, 808); and Bu-čibu and Sindebu (Γa, 179). The AT^1, 110a, has Vuǰu and Soǹǰidu (for Söndivu?) respectively (ATL, 181, must be amended accordingly). The forms 'fujeo' and 'süandeifu' in H, 83, are

out of consideration. Cleaves' transcriptions Wuǰiu and Söndii-wu are based on the Mongol transcriptions of the Chinese characters of those names which occur in the inscriptions in Uighur-Mongol script of the 14th century and are therefore reliable. I follow them, except that for *w* I write *v*. On the capture of Hsüan-te by the Mongols, see Martin, 142.

The officer sent ahead with J̌ebe to Chü-yung kuan is called Güyigünek Ba'atur. He is mentioned only once in the SH and is probably to be identified with the K'uei-ch'ü-nieh (*Küičüne[k]) 夔曲涅 of YS[2] 115, 2886, s.a. 1231. As noted by Murakami (Mu, III, 141, n. 5), this name is Turkic: *küikänäk* ~ *küigänäk* 'a mouse-catching hawk, a bustard.' See VWTD, II, 1418, 1419.

Čabčiyal and Čabčiyal Daba'an ('Čabčiyal Pass') designate Chü-yung kuan 居庸關, the well-known pass in the Chü-yung defile north-west of Ch'ang-p'ing hsien 昌平縣 in Hopei, the southern end of which (Nan-k'ou 南口) is about 53 km from Peking. For a long time it was the most strategic post north of Peking on the route between this city and Hsüan-te. This long (18 km) and narrow valley separating the plain of Peking from the Chang-chia k'ou plateau was called by the Mongols Čabčiyal, a word meaning in fact 'steep, steep ravine, gully.' See Les., 154b. Its present name in Mongolian is Čabčiyal Boγomta (kh. Cavčaal Boomt), also meaning Čabčiyal Pass. In Middle Mongolian, the form Čabčiyal already alternated with Čabča'al. See MMḤS, 121b, s.v. '*č'abč'a·al.*' Cf. TMEN, no. 183. On this pass, see GMCDN, 48-51; and, especially, KYK, 327-330. The latter work is chiefly devoted to the famous arch or gate at Chü-yung kuan which is 10 km north-west of Nan-k'ou, i.e. halfway between Nan-k'ou and Pa-ta ling 八達嶺, the walls of which contain Buddhist inscriptions (*dhāraṇis* and hymns) in six languages and scripts dating back to 1345. On these inscriptions in Mongolian, see IMIEC, 37-72; MMḤS, 60-66, 103-117; MEP, 83-98; PSPTWH, 151-179; Cleaves 1975; and the references contained in these publications, especially in

MEP, 98, for the inscriptions in the other languages. The *Čabčiyal-un qa'alqa*, or 'gate of Čabčiyal' mentioned further on in this section of the SH refers to this gate as it was during the Chin period. For all these localities, see CKLSTTC, VI, Map 46; and the excellent map of Peking and surroundings by E. Bretschneider reproduced at the end of PHID.

'*Seeing that* the Čabčiyal Pass was defended' (*Čabčiyal Daba'an-i bekilekdeǰü*). For *bekile-* 'to defend', cf. Cleaves 1949, 112, n. 98; idem 1950a, 444, n. 15. See also Poppe 1964, 374.

'*When they discovered that* he had turned back' (*qariqdaǰu*). For this construction see ibid., 375 (where, however, the word 'Chinese' should be replaced with 'Kitat'; see above).

For *čölke/ǰölke* 'a valley with a river in the middle', see Mo, 98-99, n. 94, 277; TMEN, no. 163; Oz[1], VI, 219, n. 3. The value of the first consonant is still not clear.

'J̌ebe turned back', lit. 'J̌ebe turned backwards' (*J̌ebe qoyinaqši qurba*). Cf. Bese 1969, 124, where the entire passage has been misinterpreted.

'With the main body of the army', i.e. with the army of the centre or main army (*qol čerik* = ch. *chung-chün* 中軍). For this expression, which is synonymous with *qol* (§§ 142, 193, 195), *yeke qol* (§§ 170, 195, 208, 226), and *yeke qol čerik* (§ 170), see above, n. 142. Cf. Martin, 22-23.

'The valiant and bold J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the J̌ürčet.' In the SH, the name Qara Kidat appears always in this form except in §§ 248 and 266 where it occurs in the form Qara Kitat, whereas Kitat *tout court* occurs regularly in that form and never as Kidat. Cf. NMP, I, 227 (where 'once' should be corrected to 'twice'). This unjustified distinction is simply due to the fact that 'the transcribers, at the end of the 14th cent., of course knew the Mongol pronunciation of "Kitat", alive in Mongolian current speech, but had no tradition about the Qara-Ḫïtai and misread as *-d-* the letter of the Uighuro-Mongol writing which has the double value of *-t-* and *-d-*.' (Ibid. The entry 'Qara Kitad 152 ...' in Cl, 256b, should be deleted.)

Therefore, 'Qara Kidat' is, properly, 'Qara Kitat' (= mo. Qara Kitad). For the J̌üyin auxiliaries, see above, n. 53. According to the SH, §§ 247 and 248, the J̌üyin troops (*J̌üyin-ü čeri'üt*) sent against the advancing Mongols were the élite 'Qara Kidat' and 'J̌ürčet' detachments supporting the regular Chin army, here referred to simply as 'the Kitat.' They were defeated by the main Mongol army led by Činggis. The Chinese sectional summary says (Y^2 Sup. 1, 3b): 'He (Činggis) defeated all the important (i.e. leading) Ch'i-tan (= Kitan), Ju-chen (= J̌ürčen) and other troops of the Chin state.' As stated earlier (n. 53 above), in the Mongolian text the general term 'Kitat' designates the Chin state of north China and its mixed population – Jurchen and Chinese; the term used for the ethnic Kitans (*both* the subjects of the Chin living in north China *and* the Qara Kitai/Hsi Liao of Central Asia) was 'Qara Kitat' ('Black Kitat'), *qara*, lit. 'black', here merely indicating that these were the 'true' Kitans. (On this particular use of the term *qara*, see Poppe 1977, 121, §§ 12 and 14; Khabtagaeva 2001, 95, § 2.1.4.7.) The double value of Qara Kitat (in Persian Qarā Xitāi) is reflected also in Rašīd al-Dīn's work. The 'J̌ürčet' of the SH are, therefore, not the Jurchens of China, also called Kitat, but the 'true' (= tribal) Jurchens of southeastern Manchuria. See NMP, I, 227, 387. The Kitan and Jurchen J̌üyin corps were obviously among the best and most loyal troops of the Chin ruler, witness Činggis' remarks in § 266; however, already during the reign of the Chin emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (1190-1208), some J̌üyin troops had rebelled against their Jurchen masters and gone over to the Mongols. The role of the J̌üyin in the Mongol conquest of north China has been virtually ignored by western historians and we are indebted to P.D. Buell for having drawn attention to it. See, in particular, TQUEMC, 23, 44, 50-54, 61, 88; and Buell 1978 (esp. pp. 64-68). On the J̌üyin see also the fundamental studies in KTCL 16, 2b-16b; and MSK, 69-125; as well as Pelliot 1929a, 128-129; HCG, 9; HCSL, 137, n. 20, 395, n. 100; MEYD, 174, n. 52 (also for further literature on the subject); CG, 16, 17-18, n. 1, 36, 44, n. 22, 60, 62, n. 9; and Ts'ai MP

1983 – an excellent contribution. For the 'Jüyin' clan, cf. DO, 226a. For Chang-tsung of Chin, see RC, 101 (F).

'Until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.' For this image, cf. §§ 196, 251, 272.

For 'the gate of Čabčiyal', see above, and for the passes in question, see GMCDN, 47-48.

Šira Degtür ('Yellow Terrace') corresponds to Lung-hu t'ai 龍虎臺, a locality south-east of Chü-yung kuan, about halfway between Nan-k'ou and Ch'ang-p'ing hsien and some 40 km north-west of Peking. *Degtür* (~ *degtü*) = mo. *degtürge* 'step, tier; terrace on the side of a mountain.' See Mostaert's and Cleaves' remarks on this term in Cleaves 1952, 88, n. 20. For this sentence, cf. also *Lettres*, 66.

Jungdu, i.e. Chung-tu 中都 ('Central Capital'), was the main Chin capital. It occupied, by and large, the southern half of the modern city of Peking, which was built in the early 15th century. On it, see NMP, I, 142, 256; II, 844; Hung 1951, 458; MEYD, 192, n. 244; RAHP, 20ff.; Bouillard 1929, 53-54 and Map 2; and, especially, YTT, 11-23. While in the interlinear translation Chung-tu (Jungdu) is glossed Ta-tu 大都, in the sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 1, 3b) it is rendered as Pei-p'ing 北平, i.e. with the Yüan and Ming names respectively. See Hung 1951, 458-459. The actual attack on Chung-tu did not take place until the beginning of 1214 (see below, n. 248), hence later than the events described in this section, which are of 1211-1212. What the SH means is that Činggis, on his way to conquer the Chin capital, sent his armies to seize the main enemy strongholds in order to secure the success of the operation. These strongholds, referred to as *qotot qotot balaqat* 'the various towns and cities', are enumerated in the YS and in other sources. See Na^2, 377-378; cf. Martin, 144-147. For the expression *qotot balaqat* (= pmo. *qotod balaɣad*), cf. Cleaves 1949, 64 [21].

As noted by previous investigators, Dungčang, i.e. Tung-ch'ang 東昌 (in Shantung) must be an error for Dungging, i.e.

Tung-ching 東京, or Liao-yang 遼陽, present-day Liao-yang hsien in Liaoning. This correction is supported by the parallel accounts in the YS[2] 1, 16, and SWCCL[1], 62a, as well as by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 165, where 'Tun-kin' = Tung-ching). See Hung 1951, 488-489; Li, 180, n. 247. However, according to other accounts found also in the YS, Tung-ching was captured by Muqali in 1215. See Na[2], 379; Mu, III, 145-146, n. 10. Conflicting reports on the dates of capture of towns and the identity of the military leaders are all too common in the later sources dealing with these early campaigns. It seems that in the case of Tung-ching both accounts are correct: the city was first captured by J̌ebe early in 1212, then reoccupied by the Chin, and later recaptured by Muqali's army. See CHHC, 267-275 (esp. pp. 268-271); Martin, 145ff.; and the detailed discussion in Qu DF 1998. The AT[1], 110b, has the corrupt form 'Düngǰü', which is of no help.

'As far as the distance of a six days' (*ǰirqo'an qonoq*, lit. "six days and nights") *march from there*.' *Qaǰar*, lit. 'place' = 'distance'; cf. § 4. According to the SWCCL[1], 62a (s.a. 1211), the distance covered by J̌ebe's soldiers was 500 *li* (= ca. 270 km), which makes an average of 45 km a day. Ha, 120, erroneously has 'drei Tagesmärschen' (left uncorrected in HH, 144), but the correct rendering had already been given in HW, 57, s.v. 'ḥajar.'

Although the SH is silent on the motivation of Činggis Qan's expedition against Chin, other sources – Chinese and Persian – throw light on the various and complex reasons that prompted the Mongol *qan* to embark on such a risky enterprise, the ultimate purpose of which was to combine the removal of a possible future threat with substantial rewards in the form of booty and tribute, the latter incentive being well illustrated by the various references to Mongol 'gains' in §§ 248, 249 and 250. The best outline of the diverse factors playing a role in Činggis' momentous decision is found in ČK[1], 95-98 (= ČK[2], 105-109). Cf. also Marques 1988, 91; Khazanov 1980, and NOW, 236; as well as Bira 1991, 37-38, for further insights into the problem of

the dynamics of conquest of settled cultures by nomadic peoples and, in particular, the dynamics of Činggis' external wars.

§ **248**. 'When J̌ungdu was under siege' (*J̌ungdu-yi e'erekderün*). The Chinese gloss has 'When Ta-tu was attacked (被攻)'; however, the verb *e'ere-* (= mo. *egere-*) in the SH has the meaning of both 'to attack' and 'to surround, besiege.' See HW, 42. Cf. Poppe 1964, 374: 'experiencing the siege of Chung-tu.' (For Ta-tu = Chung-tu, see above, n. 247.) The first siege of Chung-tu, to which our text refers, took place early in 1214. See Martin, 168ff. The Chinese and Persian accounts of these events are not in full agreement with each other and with the SH narrative. See YS[2] 1, 17; SWCCL[1], 66b-67a; SL[2], I/2, 170-171. Cf. Li, 170, n. 248, for a discussion of some of these discrepancies.

The Altan Qan, i.e. the then ruling Chin emperor (cf. above, n. 53), was Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r. 1213-23). On him see RC, 101 (H). His Right Chancellor (*yu ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相) was Wan-yen Fu-hsing 完顏福興, alias Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui 承暉 (d. 1215). See CS 101, 2223-2227 (esp. p. 2225); Martin, 169-171. He is referred to in the present section as Ongging (= Wan-yen) Činggsang (= *ch'eng-hsiang*), like the previous Chin Right Chancellor Wan-yen Hsiang mentioned in §§ 132-134. See above, nn. 132 and 133.

'*This is* the destiny and *favourable* time *decreed* by Heaven and Earth.' For this expression, cf. § 194 , where it is applied to the Mongols.

'Could it be that … *a new ruler*?' For these words, see Mo, 102; and 'Trois documents', 466. For *yeke oro* 'the great (i.e. pertaining to the *qan/qa'an*, hence "royal, imperial") throne', lit. 'the great place (*or* seat)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 106-107, n. 17.

'Our valiant and bold élite (*erkit*) J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kitat (= Kidat) and the J̌ürčet.' Cf. § 247. *Erkit* is the plural of *erkin* (= mo. *erkin, erkim*) 'leading, eminent, important', translated here as 'élite.'

'Even Čabčiyal *Pass*, on which we were relying, they have wrested *from us*', lit. 'Even (*ber*) the reliable (*itegeltü*) Čabčiyal ... .' For the use of *ber* 'even', cf. Street 1981, 155.

'They will no doubt (*qala'ar*) scatter *and return* to their various cities (*balaqat balaqat-dur-iyan*)', i.e. the scattered remnants of the defeated armies will not regroup, but will flee back to the safety of their respective garrisons. The word *qala'ar* (= mo. *qalaγar*) occurs only once in the SH, in the present passage, where it is glossed as *pi-jan* 必然 'certainly, without fail.' It occurs several times in the HIIY with the same meaning. See *Matériel I*, 87; *Matériel II*, 11 (2r,2). The Written Mongolian form is not registered in Kow., but it occurs, for example, in the colophon of the ET. Cf. ET[3], 100r02, 100r27. See ibid., 212; Krueger 1963a, 122 and 123, stanza 47, line 4. See also Les., 1214a, where it is rendered as 'verily, surely.'

'And if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no *longer* be our friends', lit. 'Furthermore (*ǰiči*), if they are subject to being gathered by us, not willing, becoming enemies (= hostile) to us, they will not be friends.'

'For the present' renders the Mongolian *edö'et-tür*, an expression which occurs also only once in the SH, but twice in the HIIY, where it alternates with *edö'e-tür* (= mo. *edüge-dür*) 'at present, now.' See *Matériel I*, 52; *Matériel II*, 40-41 (14v, 5).

'If the Mongols agree to withdraw', lit. 'If, entering into (= acceding to) the proposal (*or* agreement), the Mongols withdraw.'

'After their withdrawal', lit. 'after we have caused them to withdraw.'

'Find *our* country unsuitable (*he'üšiyeǰü*) and fall victim to epidemics *(kölčirgemüi*).' On the verb *he'üšiye-* (= pmo. *egüsiye-*) 'to find disagreeable, intolerable', see Pelliot 1925, 216, no. 23; Cleaves 1950, 114-115, n. 84. For *kölčirge-* 'to fall victim to epidemics', see Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. also Oz[1], VI, 234-236, n. 6.

'Princess' (*öki*), lit. 'daughter, girl', is here, as in § 280, used as a counterpart of *kö'üi* 'son, boy' = 'prince'; however, whereas in the case of the latter the SH glosses make the meaning clear (see HW, 105), in the case of the former they do not, and the word is rendered literally throughout, which is misleading (especially in § 280).

For *et* (= pmo. and mo. *ed*) and, further on, *et tabar* (= pmo. *ed tabar*; mo. *ed tavar*), 'goods, possessions', a borrowing from Turkic, see Cleaves 1954, 88-89, n. 7; idem 1991, 129, n. 10; Poppe 1955, 39; Khomonov 1970, 34.

'In abundance', lit. 'heavily (= substantially)' (*kündü-te*).

'Who knows whether they will *or will* not agree to our proposal?' – a rhetorical question implying that they would surely agree, as they in fact did.

'When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his', lit. 'When he (Ongging Čingsang) had advised (*duratqa'asu*), the Altan Qan approved these words of Ongging Čingsang.'

Gungju is not the personal name of a princess, but the Chinese title *kung-chu* 公主 'princess' phonetically transcribed into Mongolian. Unfortunately, we do not know the original SH reading in Uighur-Mongol script, but the word in the corresponding passage in AT[1], 110b, is Güngji, an obvious scribal error for Güngjü (final *-u/-ü* and *i* are easily confused in that script). In the later literary language and in Written Mongolian, the regular form is also *güngjü*, which I think accounts for the AT reading. (As a Mongolian borrowing from Chinese, *güngjü* 'princess' conforms to the rules of vowel harmony.) See ETI, 82a; Kow., 2571b. Scholars are divided as to the correct reading in the SH. Cf., e.g., Pe, 100: Güngjü; Shi, Sup. 1, 6a: Güngžü; Da[1], 244: Güngjü (cf. Da[5], 208: *günž*); L[2], 217: *gungjü* (but Güngdzsü [= Güngjü] in Li, 116); Mu, III, 148, n. 13: Güngjü; Cl, 184: Gungju; Ir, 239: Gungju; On, 143: Gungjü (but Güngjü in the 2001 ed., 236); Ta, 179: Gungju; Daš, 183: güngjü; Če, 231: Güngjü; Ev-Pop, 214: Güngjü. I discussed the problem of transcription at length in Ra, XI, 111-

112, and decided then (1984) in favour of Gungjü, i.e. Gungǰü, albeit with reservations. The character *kung* 公 is regularly transcribed as *gung* in Mongolian in the 14th century bilingual inscriptions. See Cleaves 1949, 73a; idem 1950, 83a. As for ch. *chu* 主, its value in the SH and HIIY transcriptions is *ǰu* as well as *ǰü*. Cf. GHMBK, 448-449; *Matériel I*, 69. The reading *gungǰu* is also supported by the Turkic forms which are all with back vocalism. See TMEN, no. 1585; Ölmez 1999, 59-60; Battulga 2000, 148ff. I have, therefore, adopted the form Gungǰu in the present work but, again, with some reservations, since neither *güngǰü* nor *gungǰü* can be definitely rejected. As noted by other commentators, the princess in question was not the daughter of Hsüan-tsung, but of his predecessor Wei-shao Wang 衛紹王, alias Yung-chi 永濟 (r. 1209-13; see RC, 101 [G]), and her personal name was Ch'i-kuo 岐國. See YS[2] 1, 17; Martin, 170-171. However, in the CS 14, 304, her name appears also as Kung-chu *huang-hou* 公主皇后, or the Kung-chu ('Princess') Empress. Cf. also SL[2], I/2, 71, 171, 255: Günǰü Qatun. The Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, i.e. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), and his party met her in Mongolia in July 1221. See the HYC, A, 21b, 22b-23a; TOA, 71, 73 (where, however, the word 'Tangut' in note 2 is a mistake for 'Chinese'). Cf. ISK, 213. According to a (? popular) tradition preserved in the ET, the name of the Jurchen princess was J̌aliqai. See ET[3], 30v16-17 (where 'Yaliqai' should almost certainly be read 'J̌aliqai'). However, she is erroneously described as the daughter of Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1190-1208). J̌aliqai ('Crafty') is perhaps a nickname given to her by the Mongols at the time, or later. Cf. MKYLYC, 203, n. 72.

'As much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry', lit. 'letting them decide (*mede'ülün*) by the strength (*güčün-e*) as much as one could carry (*da'aquiača*).' For *da'a-* (= mo. *dayaya-*) 'to be able to carry, bear or lift', see Les., 216a. For the ablative of the nomen futuri

meaning 'as much as (one can)', cf. the expression *čidaqui-ača* in § 245.

Moǰiu is the transliteration into the 13th-14th century Mongolian pronunciation of the name Mo-chou 莫州 of the text, glossed – together with the following place-name Fu-chou 撫州 (Vuǰiu, see above, n. 247) – as *chün ming* 郡名 'names of commanderies.' In § 247, Fu-chou was glossed as *chou ming* 州名 'name of prefecture', just as Hsüan-te fu 宣德府 (Söndiivu) in the same paragraph was glossed *fu ming* 府名 'name of administration.' The different glosses for Mo-chou and Fu-chou in our passage already show that there is something wrong with these names. The sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 1, 7b) reads as follows: 'Wang-ching 王京 (= Ongging) personally accompanied him (i.e. Činggis) as far as the mountain spurs (山觜 [= 嘴]) of Mo-chou and Fu-chou.' The AT^1, 111b, gives Moǰu and Vuǰu (the 'U-ǰu' of ATL, 183, is an incorrect reading), thus confirming the SH readings. Nevertheless, the SH text is certainly corrupt and the evidence from the AT merely indicates that the error originated in the copying or editing of the manuscript during the Yüan. Furthermore, as we have already seen (above, n. 247), place-names in the SH underwent changes that cannot always be accounted for. As noted by most commentators (see, e.g., Na^2, 382; YCPC 13, 2a; Mu, III, 148, n. 14; Do^1, 294-295, n. 18), Mo-chou 莫州 is out of the question here, as this town – the present Jen-ch'iu hsien 任邱縣 in Hopei – is south-west of Peking, hence in a completely different direction from that taken by Činggis. The conqueror, as we know, returned to the north in the third month (12 April-10 May) of 1214, and in the sixth month (9 July-7 August) was encamped on the banks of the Yü-erh po 魚兒濼 (or Ta-li po 達里濼 'Ta-li Lake', i.e. the Dal (< Dar) Nōr, by some authors incorrectly referred to as 'Dalai Nōr'; on this lake, see Serruys 1959, 4, n. 6) 'escaping the summer heat' (YS^2 1, 17-18). According to this source (1, 17), Wan-yen Fu-hsing, alias Ongging Čingsang, 'accompanied the Emperor out (lit. "going out") of Chü-yung', in other words, he

saw Činggis out of the pass before returning to Chung-tu. The laconic YS account does not say how far out of Chü-yung kuan he actually went with the imperial suite before turning back, but other early sources do. The SWCCL[1], 67a (s.a. 1214) says that he accompanied Činggis Qan 'as far as Yeh-ma ch'ih 野麻池 and returned.' In the corresponding passage of SL[2], I/2, 171, it is stated that he 'came before Činggiz-khan, passed through Čamčial (= Čabčiyal, i.e. Chü-yung kuan), and accompanying [him] went as far as the place called Mači (= Māčī; in the text: Mājī), and from there turned back.' Cf. SL[1],15 (1888), 23. In the TCHP 20, 6b-7a, the same account is found, and the locality in question is called Ma-ch'ih 馬池. There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the Mājī/Māčī of Rašīd al-Dīn and the (Yeh-)Ma-ch'ih of the Chinese sources are one and the same place. I agree with other commentators that the 'Mo-chou (Moǰiu)' of the SH is probably an error for 'Ma-ch'ih (Mači)', but with reservations. See Hung 1951, 488. It remains to identify this locality which to my knowledge is not mentioned in other Yüan or later works, at least not in this form and not in this region. Since in the SH 'Mo-chou' is mentioned in connection with Fu-chou, we may assume that it was in the same general area. This makes sense, as the locality would then be on the way from the Chü-yung Pass to the Dal Nōr by the usual route – the one also followed by Ch'ang-ch'un (see TOA, 56-64). The obvious 'point of return' for an envoy like Ongging Čingsang would have been one of the last Chin outposts, such as Fu-chou. Therefore, the 'spurs' (*qošï'un*) to which the SH refers can only be those of the northern face of the Manitu Mountains (馬尼圖山). According to Ting Ch'ien, Yeh-ma ch'ih corresponds to a locality called I-ma-t'u 驛馬圖 situated 90 *li* north and slightly to the east of Chang-chia k'ou (Kalgan). See STL, 38a. This identification is worth considering. I-ma-t'u, also and better known as Yeh-ma-t'u 野馬圖, is about 30 km east-southeast of Chang-pei/Fu-chou, 30 km north-east of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km north-west of Ch'ung-li/T'ai-p'ing chang, at 41° 03 N

115° 03 E. Cf. TMTTT, 861d, s.v. 野馬圖; and HTT, Map 16. Its situation on the northern slopes of the Manitu Mountains and a short distance from Fu-chou would make it an excellent candidate for the Yeh-ma ch'ih of the Chinese sources – also on phonetic grounds except for the last syllable. The name may have undergone a change during the Ming or, more probably, the Ch'ing period and further research on this score is necessary. Also, Yeh-ma ch'ih ('Wild Hemp Pool') seems to be the Chinese name of a lake, whereas Yeh-ma-t'u/I-ma-t'u is the Chinese phonetic transcription of a Mongolian word, almost certainly *imātu* (< *ima'atu* = mo. *imaγatu*) 'having goats.' Cf. the I-ma-t'u 一麻禿 = Yang-shan 羊山 ('Goat Mountain') in the Sino-Mongolian glossary in WPC 227, 3b, and the Imatu Alin (馹馬圖山, 伊馬圖山), or Imatu Mountains, north-east of Kuei-hua in JA, 161, 295, no. 169.

'With *bands of* heavy silk fabric' renders *kibu'ud-iyar*. *Kibu'ut* (w.f. *kibuγud*; cf. AT[1], 111b: *kibūd* [< *kibuγud*]) is the plural of *kib*, glossed in Chinese as *shu-chüan* 熟絹 'heavy or glossy silk fabric, taffeta.' See Cleaves 1950a, 445-446, n. 25. The reading *qib* for *kib* in Oz[1], VI, 229, 237, n. 9, is incorrect. Cf. GHMBK, 460.

§ **249**. Here too the chronology of the SH is unreliable and misleading. Činggis Qan's campaign against the sinicized state of Hsi Hsia (called 'Qašin' and 'Tang'ut' in our text) and the payment of tribute by its ruler (Burqan Qan), as related in this section, actually preceded the campaign against Chin described in §§ 247-248. We know that the Mongols had been carrying out raids into Hsi Hsia territory in 1205 and 1207 (see YS[2] 1, 13-14; SWCCL[1], 57a-b; SL[2], I/2, 149 [where, however, '1202' is an error for '1205'] and 151), but it was not until the summer/autumn of 1209 that Činggis began a massive attack against the Hsi Hsia strongholds, including the capital Chung-hsing 中興 (= Ning-hsia/Eriqaya in Ninghsia), which came under siege. The SH narrative ignores all this and describes only the outcome, i.e. the peace bought by the Tangut court. For an

account of the 1209 campaign, see YS[2] 1, 14; SWCCL[1], 60b-61a; SL[2], I/2, 153; Martin, 115-120; OITG, 298-301; HHSK, 123ff., 334; CHCAR, 207-208 (and Map 13 on p. 209). There are some discrepancies as to the year of the campaign, some sources giving 1210 and even 1211 for it, but the overall evidence points to 1209, and this is also the year given by the TCHP 19, 31a. Cf. Na[2], 384-385; Mu, III, 151-152; Kyčanov 1977, 49; CHCAR, 207; YShi, 161. For the state of Hsi Hsia and the names Qašin (< ch. Ho-hsi 'West of the [Yellow] River') and Tang'ut (< Tangqut = Tangγud), a Turko-Mongolian designation of Hsi Hsia, see above, nn. 150 and 151.

The 'Qašin people' (*Qašin irgen*), i.e. the inhabitants of Hsi Hsia, are here referred to as the 'Tang'ut people' (*Tang'ut irgen*), and their ruler, who at the time of these events was Hsiang-tsung 襄宗, alias Li An-ch'üan 李安全 (r. 1206-11), is called Burqan Qan, lit. 'Buddha (= Divine) Ruler.' This apparently was the religious and popular designation of the Tangut rulers originating from their deep Buddhist faith. Another designation of the Hsi Hsia sovereign, found in § 250, was Iluqu Burqan or 'Victorious Buddha.' *Iluqu* = *ilūqu* < *ilaγuqu*, the nomen futuri of the verb *ilaγu-* 'to conquer, overcome.' It corresponds to mo. *ilaγuγsan*, *ilaγuγči*, all of them rendering skr. *jina* 'conqueror, victorious', a standard epithet of the Buddha. See Les., 1171a; BTD, nos. 12, 13b, 3605. On Hsiang-tsung, cf. RC, 83 (I).

'Becoming your right (= west) wing (lit. "hand").' Činggis' army was invading China from the north; its weak flank was the western flank which was under constant threat from the Hsi Hsia forts along the border, hence the various probing and reconnaissance raids into Tangut territory and the present campaign immediately preceding the actual launching of the expedition against Chin. Burqan Qan is now pledging his support and, to remove Činggis Qan's fears, offers to become the Mongol army's 'western wing', meaning that Činggis would be secure on his western flank from any Hsi Hsia attack.

'I shall serve you', lit. 'I shall give you my strength' (*gučü ögsü*): see above, n. 149. To seal his allegiance Burqan Qan gives his daughter Čaqa to Činggis. The identification of Čaqa with Ch'a-erh 察兒 (*Čar), listed in the YS[2] 106, 2695a, as the fifth empress belonging to the third *ordo* – identification proposed by Li Wen-t'ien (YC 13, 10a) and Naka (Na[2], 383) – is acceptable only if it can be shown that the two names are related; unfortunately, this cannot be done on purely phonetic grounds. Čaqa appears to be the Mongolian counterpart or version of the princess' name, just as Iluqu Burqan is the Mongolian version of her father's title. The AT[1], 111b, gives the reading 'Čaqan' instead of 'Čaqa.' ATL, 183, reads 'Čaγa<n>', while ATI, 79, has 'Caγan', and LDAT, 219, 'Čakhan' (= Čaqan). However, *čaqa* means 'child' in Mongolian, and is plausible as a name or nickname. See HW, 25; Les., 166b. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *Čar* means 'layer of frost on the surface of the snow; hard crust on snow' (Les., 165a), but Čar or a similar sounding word may well be the Chinese transcription of the original Tangut name of the princess. Further research on this problem by Tangut specialists is clearly necessary. In any event, Murakami's objection (in Mu, III, 152, n. 2) to Naka's and, ultimately, Li Wen-t'ien's identification (adopted also in Do[1], 297, n. 3), based on the assumption that Ch'a-erh and Ča'alun, the 'daughter' – actually the wife – of Toqto'a of the Merkit (see § 157 and com.) are one and the same person, is hardly defensible on phonetic grounds. Incidentally, the Tangut princess, too, was met by Ch'ang-ch'un and his disciples in Mongolia in July 1221. See the HYC, A, 21b; TOA, 71. Cf. above, n. 248.

'Your august person' (*süldertü beye činu*), lit. 'your person possessing an august spirit (*or* majesty: *sülder*).' For *sülder*, see above, n. 69.

'You have come to us', lit. 'undergoing the coming *by you*' (*irekdeǰü*). Cf. Poppe 1964, 377.

'We are the ones who live in permanent camps,/We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*', lit. 'We are the

ones who have immovable (*nunǰi*) camps,/We are the ones who have pounded (*nödüksen*) towns', i.e. a settled population and, consequently, untrained and unsuitable for the type of warfare waged by the Mongols. Cf. § 203: 'Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,/Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.' Cf. also § 265, where the same phraseology of § 249 is employed. *Nunǰi*, glossed as *pu-tung-ti* 不動的 'immovable (= stable)', came to mean 'tardy, slow (*or* late) growing; weak, frail, having poor sight or hearing' in the later literary language. Cf. Kow., 676b; Les., 596a; MKT, 395c. As for the 'pounded towns' (*nödüksen balaqasu*), i.e. towns with walls of pounded earth, Cleaves renders the line in question somewhat differently: '[We] are ones which have pounded city walls' (Cl, 185), thereby taking the word *balaqasu(n)* (= pmo. *balaɣasu*[*n*]) to mean 'city wall' on the strength of the Chinese gloss *ch'eng* 城 which means both 'walled town/city' and 'city wall(s).' However, *balaqasu(n)* designates only a 'walled-town/city.' Cf. above, n. 151. The reading *nüdügsen* in Oz[1], VI, 239, 241-242, n. 3, does not represent the Chinese transcription which is unquestionably *nödügsen* (那都克先).

Qurdun aya ayala- 'to wage a swift campaign' is, literally, 'to campaign a swift campaign.' On the expression *aya ayala-*, see Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 32. 'To fight a deadly combat' renders *qurča bulqa bulqaldu-* (pmo. *bulɣa bulɣaldu-*), lit. 'to fight a sharp fight.' See 'Trois documents', 493, n. 85.

'We shall bring forth many camels/Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass', lit. 'Rearing them in the shelter of the tall *deresün*,/We shall bring forth many camels.' For *deresü*(*n*) 'feather-grass, broom grass' = *Lasiogrostis splendens* (Trin.) Kunth., etc., see MOUNT, 57; UNT, 85, no. 15019; Les., 253b; MED, 146b; and, especially, Serruys 1985 (where the reference to the SH is on p. 70). See also C.R. Bawden's remarks in *BSOAS* 45:1982, 205. The correct scientific name is *Lasiogrostis*, not *Lasiagrostis*. Cf. above, n. 150.

'We shall turn them into (lit. "cause to become") government property (*qa*).' For *qa*, which is an alternative form of *qan* 'ruler' → 'rulership, government', hence 'pertaining to the government, government property', see Cleaves 1952, 97-98, n. 90; and de Rachewiltz 1983, 273 (e). Cf. above, nn. 57, 244. Burqan Qan means that the camels will be levied (*qubči-*, see below) from his subjects in order to be delivered to Činggis Qan. On the Mongols' requirements of camels, see also § 274. On their need of textiles, see Serruys 1982a; CEME, 11ff.; and above, nn. 136 and 187. As Serruys points out (op. cit., 126), the Mongols had wool and used it to make felt for their tents, but they did not weave.

'Training falcons to fly loose *at game*', lit. 'teaching (*surqaǰu*) birds (*šiba'un*, here = falcons) that one lets loose (*o'orqu*).' *Šiba'un* (= mo. *sibaγun*) 'bird' has the secondary meaning of 'falcon', as in § 195. On falconry, cf. above, n. 239.

'The best ones', lit. 'the fine ones (*sayid-i*) of (= amongst) them (*inu*).' For *inu* = *anu*, cf. Mo, 95.

'He kept to his word', lit. 'he reached (= came up) to his word.' For this expression, see *Lettres*, 31. For *qubči-* 'to levy', see above, n. 223.

In this section, as in the next one, emphasis is placed on Burqan Qan's submission and his promise to provide military assistance to Činggis Qan. The royal act of submission was formalized by the dispatch of a princess to the Mongol court together with a substantial tribute in camels, satin, etc. It was the subsequent failure to provide military assistance to the Mongols prior to the launching of the Western Campaign in 1218/19 that will give Činggis Qan the 'legitimate' pretext to invade and, ultimately, destroy the Hsi Hsia state in 1226. See below, n. 256.

§ **250**. This section contains a brief recapitulation of the results of Činggis' two expeditions against Chin and Hsi Hsia described in the previous sections, viz. the acquisition of a large amount of booty on the part of the Mongols. The year given for the two

campaigns is the Year of the Sheep, i.e. 1211. As shown in the previous notes, the chronology of the SH concerning these events is unreliable. The year 1211, already mentioned in § 247, is the year in which the invasion of Chin was launched and has no bearing on the earlier campaign against Hsi Hsia, which took place in 1209. In this section (as in § 251), owing to faulty editing, the Altan Qan of the Kitat is referred to once as 'the Altan Qa'an', as in § 53. Cf. the beginning of § 255 where, for the same reason, we find 'Činggis Qan' instead of 'Činggis Qa'an.' On this problem, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 276, and Section Four of the Introduction.

'A large quantity … a large number', lit. 'many (*olon*) … many (*olon*).'

The name of the Altan Qan, i.e. of the Chin ruler at the time, is given as Aqutai. This is an error, the origin of which is obscure. In SL[2], I/2, 166-167, we read: 'This same ruler (i.e. of the Jurchen/Chin), who conducted a struggle with Čingiz-khan and his army, was from the tribe and region of Džurdžė (*read* Jürče) and belonged to the descendants (i.e. was a descendant) of Daĭ-Kam-Van (= ? Ta-Chin-wang 大金王 "the king of Great Chin"; cf. Pelliot 1935, 930, n. 18) Agudė (*read* Aguda). Agude is the name, and the rest the nickname (i.e. the appellation). The Mongols call this Agude Khakutai (= Aqutai), and all the rulers who belong to his descendants (i.e. who descend from him) are called by the Mongols Altan-khan.' (The parenthetical matter is mine.) It would appear then that the Mongols in Činggis' time called the Chin ruler by extension also Aqutai. Cf. Mu, III, 153-154, n. 5; Do[1], 298, n. 6. Another explanation is the one put forth in Li, 181, n. 251, according to which the Chin ruler's name may have been confused with that of the Jurchen envoy A-hu-tai 阿虎帶 (Aqutai), who after Činggis Qan's death was sent by the Chin to the Mongol court with funerary presents which Ögödei rejected. See YS[2] 2, 29 (s.a. 1229). There are, however, some chronological problems concerning the Chin peace missions to the Mongols and the identity of the envoys. See MWESC 3, 31b (s.a. 1227: mission of Ao-t'un A-hu 奥屯阿虎),

and 4, 3a (s.a. 1229: mission of Wan-yen Nu-shen 完顏奴申). Personally, I favour the first explanation, viz. that the Jurchen name Aguda, pronounced by the Mongols Aqutai or Aγutai/ Aγudai, although properly belonging to the founder of the dynasty, was also mistakenly applied by them to his descendants, much as we would say 'the Agudaid.' The Mongol practice of giving names to other peoples is an interesting subject in itself and deserves investigation.

For Iluqu Burqan, see above, n. 249. For the Sa'ari Ke'er, or Sa'ari Steppe, see above, n. 128. The SH statement that Činggis Qan returned to his camping grounds in northern Mongolia is correct only insofar as the completion of the 1209 campaign against Hsi Hsia is concerned. After the immediately following 'first' campaign against Chin, concluded in 1214, Činggis withdrew his army only as far as the Yü-erh po, i.e. the Dal Nōr, in southeastern Mongolia to avoid the summer heat, as already shown above (n. 248).

For the use of the verb *ba'u-* (= mo. *baγu-*) 'to pitch camp', lit. 'to dismount', with the accusative, see Cleaves 1953, 105, n. 5; and *Lettres*, 29. For this section, cf. also Street 1990, 190 (66).

§ **251**. This section deals with the resumption of hostilities with Chin. The SH is again in error as to the sequence of events by placing the Altan Qan's flight from Chung-tu *after* the resumption of hostilities, whereas all other sources agree that Činggis' renewed attack was triggered off by the Chin ruler's hasty transfer of his court to the relative safety of the Southern Capital Pien-liang 汴梁, i.e. K'ai-feng 開封, in Honan in June 1214. See below, and Martin, 171ff. There are also other inconsistencies that will be discussed later. The reason given in the SH for this, the 'second' campaign, is the Chin government's interference with (lit. 'hindering') the envoys sent by Činggis to the Sung court in the south. These various envoys, among whom was Jubqan (see below), were seeking an alliance with Sung against the Jurchens, which explains why they were

detained by the latter. On the other hand, envoys were regarded as inviolable by the Mongols, and hindering their mission or harming them automatically provided the Mongol court with a legitimate *casus belli* (cf. below, n. 254). The then reigning Sung emperor, Ning-tsung 寧宗 (r. 1195-1224; see RC, 89 [M]), is called J̌au Gon, which was the Mongol pronunciation of Chao Kuan 趙官, lit. 'Chao Person-in-office', Chao being the family name (*hsing*) of the Sung rulers. This unusual appellation must have been a popular designation of the Southern Sung emperors in northern Chin-ruled China. *Kuan* 官 is used here for 'emperor', also a meaning of this character. See DKJ, III, 7107 (3). Cf. also the expressions *kuan-chia* 官家 and *kuan-li* 官裏 id. (ibid., 7107.29 and 7107.357; CEDMU, 925a; SYYYTT, 578a). For the surname of a person followed by his title or designation, cf. pmo. Čau Qošang = ch. Ch'ao Ho-shang 超 (?) 和尙, lit. 'Monk Ch'ao', in Cleaves 1951, 56 [31], 71. As for the transcription J̌au Gon of 趙官 adopted by Cleaves (Cl, 186) and others, Ligeti gives again different readings in his works: 'J̌eugon' in the text edition (L^2, 220) and 'Dzsaugon' (= 'J̌augon') in his translation (Li, 117); whereas Ozawa prefers the reading 'J̌e̯ügon' (Oz^1, VI, 246). The reading *ǰeu* for 趙, which I also adopted in Ra, XI, 85, 120, is indeed supported by the 13th-14th century transcriptions in 'Phags-pa script (see, e.g., MKTY, 119b [= B, 15a]), but these reflect the state of Old Mandarin, whereas here we are dealing with a Middle Mandarin pronunciation. See KGJ, 243, no. 55 (s.v. 兆). As for 官 = *gon*, cf. Cleaves 1949, 73a (Index). The AT^1, 112a, has the corrupt forms 'Čedkün' and 'Čidkün' (amended to 'Čeugon' and 'Čeugon' respectively in ATL, 185). Cf. ATI, 79.

For the emendation of the SH 'Chao Kuan' into 'Chao K'uo 趙擴' (K'uo being the personal name of Ning-tsung) proposed by Wang Kuo-wei, see KTCL 16, 26b. Cf. Pelliot 1929, 130; Cl, 186, n. 21. This emendation is doubtful on phonetic grounds.

J̌ubqan, the chief envoy of Činggis Qan to the Sung, is a

known personage, mentioned in the MTPL, 2a-b (see the important note on him by Wang Kuo-wei, loc. cit.), the YS[2] 2, 31 (s.a. 1231), and other Sung and Yüan sources, where his name is transcribed in slightly different ways (Su-pu-han, Shuo-pu-han, etc.). See MDBL, 46-48, 101-102, n. 38; CG, 3, 8-9, n. 11; Na[2], 386-387; Mu, III, 156-158, n. 2; Abramowski 1976, 126, 140, n. 35 (where, however, Shuo-pu-han is not identified). The various transcriptions of his name reflect Sub(u)qan ~ Čub(u)-qan (~ J̌ub[u]qan) ~ Čob(u)qan. The AT[1], 112a, gives Čab Qan (= Čabqan) – incorrectly read as 'Čau-qan' by Šastina (LDAT, 220) and ATI, 79 – which has been amended by Ligeti to 'Čubqan' in his text edition (ATL, 185). Murakami, loc. cit., suggests a possible derivation from *čibuqan* (= mo. *čibuyan*, *čibayan*) 'jujube.' Cf. tu. *čubaqan* id. See *Matériel I*, 46; Les., 174a, 175a; DTS, 156a. Although this etymology is very plausible, I would like to suggest a possible, even if less likely, alternative, viz. **čobuyan* ~ **čubuyan* 'intelligent, eloquent.' Cf. ord. *tš'owō*, *tš'owōn* 'very intelligent, lively, eloquent' (DO, 714a-b); öl. *tsowā* 'witty' (registered in KW, 431a). See IMCS, 70-71. This could have been a nickname the Mongols gave to this personage on account of his skill as an ambassador. We know that he was a Chinese-speaking Önggüt, apparently serving under Muqali in north China, who was entrusted with several missions to the Sung, including one about 1221. He was eventually killed in Shensi by a Chin official in the course of a mission to the Sung on behalf of Tolui in 1231, i.e. after Ögödei's full-scale resumption of the war against Chin. One may well wonder whether the reference to J̌ubqan in the passage of the SH under discussion is not a later interpolation, or a textual contamination, in view of the fact that J̌ubqan was indeed prevented from carrying out a Mongol diplomatic mission to the Sung, losing his life into the bargain, about seventeen years later.

For the construction *olon elčin-iyen … ǰetgükdeǰü*, see Poppe 1964, 374.

'After they had already submitted themselves (*elsen baraǰu*), how could they hinder (*yekin ǰetkün bülegei*) ...?' For the auxiliary of completion *bara-*, see above, n. 75. The form *bülegei* (cf. *büligi* in § 151) occurs only once in the SH and is not found, I think, in any other Middle Mongolian text, the regular transcriptions replacing the intervocalic *-g-* of the Uighur-Mongolian written form with a hiatus or a *-y-*. See R, 202b-203a, s.v. 'büle'e', 'büle'ei', and 'büliyi'; 'Trois documents', 460; 'Quelques problèmes', 258. The presence of the two forms with *-g-* in the SH may further confirm that the Chinese phonetic transcription of this work was carried out on a text in Uighur-Mongol script, not in 'Phags-pa script, as some scholars have claimed in the past. On this question, cf. Li, 193ff.; Mo, 260; and Section Four of the Introduction.

The Tunggon Pass (Tunggon Amasar) is the famous T'ung-kuan 潼關 stronghold, one of the main strategic points of Shensi and Honan, overlooking the Huang-ho. T'ung-kuan was attacked and briefly conquered by the Mongol army led by Samuqa only in 1216. See Na^2, 387-388; MWESC 3, 18a. Cf., however, SL^2, I/2, 175 (s.a. 1213/14). Činggis Qan never crossed the Huang-ho and directed all the military operations from various points north of Chung-tu. He did not even enter Chung-tu when the city fell in 1215 (see below).

'Ordering J̌ebe to go by way of Čabčiyal', lit. 'caused J̌ebe to be *going* by Čabčiyal', i.e. by way of Chü-yung kuan.

Of the three Chin commanders appointed by the Altan Qan, Ile has been identified with I-la P'u-a 移剌蒲阿, on whom see CS 112, 2470-2475. Qada has been identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta 完顏合達, on whom see ibid., 2463-2470; and YS^2 2, 31. See Na^2, 390-391; Mu, III, 158-159, nn. 4 and 5. Unfortunately, very little is known about I-la P'u-a's activity as a military commander before 1222-1223. However, there is no doubt that 'Ile' corresponds to the Kitan surname Yeh-lü 耶律 ~ I-la 移剌 ~ I-lieh 移 (亦) 列 (烈). See de Rachewiltz 1974, 201-202, n. 37; Boyle 1963, 236-237. There were several military leaders at the

time in the Chin army who belonged to this clan, and I-la P'u-a is certainly the one who *after 1225* was closely associated with Wan-yen Ho-ta in leading the Chin counter-offensive. Both these generals were defeated and captured by the Mongols early in 1232. Cf. Abramowski 1976, 127, 141, nn. 50, 51; ISK, 320. If, as suggested, our Ile is I-la P'u-a, his retrospective inclusion in the SH among the Chin commanders s.a. 1214 is almost certainly incorrect. As for the third commander, Höbögetür, his identification is even more problematic. Naka (Na^2, 391) suggests that this may have been another name of the military leader Wan-yen Ch'en-ho-shang 完顏陳和尙, on whom see CS 123, 2680-2683. Cf. Mu, III, 159-160, n. 6. Cleaves is of the opinion that the name of the Chin general 'Qamar Neküder' (QMR NKWDR) mentioned by J̌uvainī together with Qadai 'Rengü' (= ? Senggüm < ch. *chiang-chün* 將軍 'general') – who is to be identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta – may be a corruption of Höbögetür. See HWC, 192 and n. 5. But the events related by J̌uvainī refer to Ögödei's and Tolui's operations in north China in 1231-1232, which are also, and more fully, described by Rašīd al-Dīn. In *Successors*, 35, Rašīd mentions too the Chin generals who are identified by Boyle, following Cleaves, as *Qada Sengüm and *Höbegedür (see ibid., n. 115), in connection with the Mongols' second and final attack on T'ung-kuan (see below). The names of the two generals in Rašīd al-Dīn's text are Qadai Rengü and Qamar Tegüder. See DT^1, 20 and nn. *g*, *h*; SL^2, II, 22, nn. 76, 77. Rašīd's source for these names is clearly J̌uvainī. According to the Chinese sources, the T'ung-kuan garrison surrendered to the Mongols on 12 February 1232. See MWESC 4, 7a. The problem is further complicated by the SH reference to the 'Red Coats' (*Hula'an Degelen*) being used as the vanguard, i.e. as crack troops, of the Chin army against the Mongols in the defence of T'ung-kuan, and their defeat by Tolui and Čügü Gürigen (the Čigü Güregen of the SH, § 202, no. 85; see below) in the course of the same campaign of Činggis Qan, ostensibly s.a. 1214. At that time there was a rebel army operating in Shantung composed of bands of discontented

peasants, displaced people and outlaws, known as the 'Red Coats' (ch. *Hung-ao* 紅襖). The Chin government made determined efforts to suppress them in 1214-1215, but without much success, and the Red Coats continued to harass the authorities and the local population for many years. In its fight against these rebels, the Chin government made use of civil volunteer troops known as the 'Multicoloured Caps Army' (ch. *Hua-mao chün* 花帽軍); these troops were also used in support of the regular army when the Mongol forces led by Samuqa attacked the T'ung-kuan stronghold in 1216. Some scholars have suggested that the *Hula'an Degelen* of the SH was actually the Multicoloured Caps Army; others maintain that they were the latter, but comprising also units of the Red Coats who had changed sides and rallied to the government. Cf. the various arguments in Yao TW 1960; and Mu, III, 160-161, n. 7. As pointed out by Murakami (loc. cit.), the distinction between the Red Coats and the Multicoloured Caps Army may later have become blurred because of the incorporation of the former into the latter. On the Red Coats and their leaders, see MHHWY, 11-43 (esp. p. 22ff.); F. Aubin's biography of Li Ch'üan 李全 (d. 1231) in SB, 542-546; NTS, 118ff.; Ōshima 1974. In any event, all authors agree that the battle of T'ung-kuan described in this section of the SH is that of 1216. It should be pointed out, however, that Rašīd al-Dīn, in describing the military operations in north China just prior to Tolui's great victory at 'Tungqan Qahalqa' (*read* 'Tungqan Qaqalqa'), i.e. the T'ung-kuan Pass, in 1231/32, says that Ögödei, who was personally in charge of the operations, 'himself proceeded on the right (i.e. westwards – I.R.) in the direction of a province of Khitai (= North China – I.R.), the people of which are called Hulan-Degeleten, that is, the people who wear red coats.' (*Successors*, 34; cf. ibid., p. 166; and TMEN, no. 200.) Then follows a description of Tolui's arrival at T'ung-kuan and the ensuing battle against the Chin troops led by *Qada Sengüm and *Höbegedür (*Successors*, 35-38; cf. HWC, 192-195) mentioned earlier. In my view, the SH account is a conflation of events that took place in the North

China campaigns of 1214-1216 and 1231-1232, the confusion being due in all probability to a later editor who meddled with the text of the SH and, in particular, with the sections dealing with Tolui. Therefore, I think that the reference to the Red Coats in our passage must be re-examined in the light of the account of the final battle for T'ung-kuan and the cryptic remark by Rašīd al-Dīn concerning the people by that name. Cf. also Liu TY 1998, 25-26. The name itself presents no problem: 'Hulan-Delegeten' is *Hulān* (< *Hula'an*) *Delegeten*, lit. 'Those who have (= wear) red coats', a designation formed on *Hula'an Degelen* + the possessive suffix *-ten*.

'With the army blocking *the passage*' (*čerik bökleǰü*), the passage being the Tunggon Pass. The exact meaning of *bökle-* (= mo. *bögle-*) is 'to fill (i.e. to block, obstruct) an opening.' Cf. § 80: *amasar bökle-* 'to block the opening.' Renderings such as 'selected the (best) soldiers' (On, 144; cf. the 2001 ed., 238), and 'reinforcing (*or* strengthening, making a full contingent of) the troops' (Da[5], 210; Oz[1], VI, 249, 250, n. 3, 309; Oz[2], II, 167-168; Če, 233; Ev-Pop, 216, 301, n. 23) go against both the text and the Chinese gloss (塞着).

'In haste', lit. 'hastening' (*qurduilan*). The verb *qurduila-* (= mo. *qurdula-*) 'to hasten' (from *qurdun* 'haste, quick'; cf. HW, 72) occurs only once in the SH.

'The Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, "*Our* soil!"' By '*Our* soil!' is meant 'Let us defend our soil!' See Mo, 175-178. For somewhat different interpretations of this passage, see Oz[1], VI, 249, 253, n. 6, 381; On, 144; Če, 234; Ev-Pop, 216. The two Mongol leaders mentioned in § 251 are Tolui and Čügü Gürigen, i.e. Čigü Gürigen ('Son-in-law Čigü') – the latter having been mentioned in § 202 as the commander of one of the three Onggirat thousands (*minqat*). Čigü is the correct form of the name. The son of Alči Noyan and grandson of Dei Sečen, Čigü married Činggis' youngest daughter Tümelün, hence the epithet *gürigen*. On him, see Na[2], 281; Mu, II, 391-393, n. 92 (with genealogical tree); Pelliot 1935, 913-916; *Chapitre CVIII*, 49, n. 2; 160 (7), n. 2. On *gürigen* ~ *güregen*, see 'Trois

documents', 474; and above, n. 66. Čigü took part in the first North China campaign and is mentioned in YS[2] 1, 16, in connection with Tolui and the attack on Te-hsing fu in 1213, as well as in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, always in connection with this early campaign and with Tolui. See *Successors*, 164. His participation in Ögödei's campaign against Chin in the early 1230s can only be inferred from the participation of his father, who led the left (= east) wing of the Mongol army, and from the handsome reward he received for his services from Ögödei in 1236. See YS[2] 2, 35; MWESC 4, 5b; Abramovski 1976, 132.

'Charging at their flanks' (*köndelen-eče dobtulǰu*), lit. 'assaulting from the side(s).'

'Slew the Kitat until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.' For this expression, see above, n. 247.

'Fled out of J̌ungdu', lit. 'going out fled from J̌ungdu.'

'The city of Namging' (*Namging balaqasu*) is Nan-ching 南京, or Southern Capital, of the Chin, which was then Pien-liang, i.e. K'ai-feng, in Honan. The city was besieged and eventually captured by Sübe'etei in May-June 1233. As stated at the outset, Chung-tu was abandoned by Hsüan-tsung *before* Činggis' resumption of hostilities in the second half of 1214. Hsüan-tsung left Chung-tu on 27 June 1214 and arrived in Pien-liang/Nan-ching on 19 August. See SS 39, 760; CS 14, 305. Cf. YS[2] 1, 17. By the time he reached Pien-liang, Chung-tu was being surrounded by the Mongol army and put under siege. The siege lasted over ten months and the city finally surrendered on 31 May 1215. See CS 14, 309; YS[2] 1, 18. The famine became acute in the last two months and references to cases of cannibalism are indeed found in the Chinese sources. See SWCCL[1], 68b; MWESC 3, 16a. Cf. SL[2], I/2, 174; Martin, 177; ISK, 18, 101, 300, 416, 621. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 181, n. 251), a distorted version of this story – the one in which the besieging Mongols resort to cannibalism! – is found even in John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. See MM, 16; SDM, 349. As for the reading Namging, the AT[1], 112b, has Nangging (with the side gloss 'Nan-ǰing'); however, the 13th-

14th century reading of *nan* 南 was *nam*, as shown by Marco Polo's 'Namchin/Namghin.' See NMP, I, 127 (regrettably Pelliot never completed his entry on 'Namchin'); MP^3, 199, 399. Cf. also Cleaves 1949, 76a (Index). For this city in Chin times, see ISK, 789a (Index); FJC, 175a (Index). Cf. also Hung 1951, 478.

§ **252**. Qosivu = Ho-hsi-wu 和西務, just north-east of Wu-ch'ing hsien 武清縣 in Hopei, at 39° 38 N 116° 58 E. This is not a place where Činggis Qan would have halted during the second campaign against Chin, since he was moving towards Chung-tu (Peking) from the north (Yü-erh po/Dal Nōr) and Ho-hsi-wu is situated *south-east* of Peking. The erroneous mention of Ho-hsi-wu in the present context may be a later interpolation in one of the SH manuscripts, as it is not found in the sectional summary which begins as follows (Y^2 Sup. 1, 17b): 'When Činggis reached the territory of Šira Ke'er of Pei-p'ing 北平 (= Chung-tu/Peking), J̌ebe had already taken Chü-yung kuan ... .' It is, however, found in the AT^1, 112b: 'Qoi-sivu.' Alternatively, as in the case of Moǰiu (莫州) in § 248, another locality is meant.

'Set up camp at Qosivu, *then* in the Šira Ke'er of J̌ungdu', lit. 'Having set up camp at Qosivu (*Qosivu-yi ba'u'at*), he set up camp in the Šira Ke'er (*Šira Ke'er ba'ubai*) of J̌ungdu.' Here we have an example of the use of the verb *ba'u-* (= mo. *baɣu-*) 'to pitch camp' with and without the accusative. Cf. above, n. 250 ad fin. The Šira Ke'er, or Yellow Plain (*ke'er* means both 'plain' and 'steppe, steppeland'; see above, n. 56), is the open country north of Peking, 'yellow' no doubt referring to the characteristic colour of the soil (loess). Činggis' setting up camp in the neighbourhood of Chung-tu and J̌ebe's capture of Čabčiyal, i.e. of Chü-yung kuan, are events belonging to the earlier campaign: the capture of the pass is recorded in the YS^2 1, 16, s.a. 1213, in the seventh month (20 July-17 August), and Činggis' halt 'in the open country north of Chung-tu' in the third month (12 April-10 May) of 1214. See ibid., 17. Cf. the

SWCCL[1], 64b (s.a. 1213) and 66b (s.a. 1214). However, according to both the YS and SWCCL[1], 64b, after the capture of Chü-yung kuan J̌ebe's army joined the troops of the Mongol generals Ketei and Boča, not the main army led by Činggis. Cf. Martin, 160. The sentence '*J̌ebe Čabčiyal-un qālqa …neyileba* (= *neyilebe*)' is discussed in Mo, 179-180. For *qālqa* < *qa'alqa* (= mo. *qayalya*) 'gate', cf. TMEN, no. 1514. Mostaert's '*qa*['*a*]*lya*' (Mo, 179) is, therefore, unwarranted. Cf. also IMCS, 58, 61.

Regarding the appointment of Qada as *liušiu*, i.e. ch. *liu-shou* 留守, lit. '*official* left behind to guard *the capital*'; hence vicegerent (HCSL, 747b [Index]), protector (GCUMR, 97, 122, n. 183), regent (DOTIC, 320a, no. 3813), or governor (ISK, 703), nothing is known from other Chinese sources with the exception of the SWCCL[1], 69a, where it is stated that Ha-ta 哈荅 (Qada) and Kuo-ho 國和, who were *liu-shou* at the time, i.e. when Chung-tu was captured by the Mongols, made obeisance and offered gifts of gold and silk to the three Mongol commanders Quduqu Noyan (= Šigi Qutuqu), Önggür Baurči (= Ba'urči) and Arqai Qasar who had been sent by Činggis, then encamped at Huan-chou 桓州 (present-day To-lun hsien 多倫縣, Inner Mongolia), to make the inventory of Chin treasures in Chung-tu. Then follows an account of the story related in the present section of the SH, always s.a. 1214. In the corresponding passage of Rašīd al-Dīn's work (SL[2], I/2, 174), Qada and Kuo-ho are called Qada (*or* Qadai) *liu-su* (read *liu-šu*) and Goi (? Qui), and the same story is recounted (ibid., 174-175). Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 100-101; ISK, 80-81; Li, 181, n. 252. The vicegerent originally appointed by Hsüan-tsung when he left the capital was the heir apparent Shou-chung 守忠 assisted by Chancellor Wan-yen Fu-hsing (the Ongging Činggsang of § 248) and the Associate Director of Political Affairs (*ts'an-cheng* 參政) Mo-jan Chin-chung 抹然盡忠. During the siege of Chung-tu, the heir apparent escaped and the above two officials were left in charge of the city. Fu-hsing committed suicide before

Chung-tu capitulated in 1215, while Chin-chung managed to escape. See the YS[2] 1, 17-18; 101, 2223-2230; MWESC 3, 14a-16a; 14, 11a-b; Martin, 172, 177-178. Qada and Kuo-ho (alias Goi) were probably two subordinate officials who took over at the end and opened the gates to the Mongols, a fact that would also explain their survival and subsequent action. With regard to the Mongol reading *liušiu* (= *liu-shou*), cf. the AT[1], 112b: *liušiu*, and the Sino-Uighur inscription in honour of the *ïduq qut* of Qočo of 1334, where this term occurs also in the form *liušiu*. See Geng & Hamilton 1981, 50a. It should be noted, however, that in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 the same term occurs, but written *liušu*. See Cleaves 1949, 66 [39], 90. Cf. Rašīd's '*liu-šu*.' The duty of the vicegerent was to protect the capital in the emperor's absence. On this office, see CS 42, 960ff. See also above the references to HCSL, etc.

'In J̌ungdu', lit. 'inside (*dotora*) J̌ungdu.'

'Before leaving *the city*', lit. 'and left.'

'Had the inventory taken', lit. 'made one count' (*to'o-la'ulurun*). 'And *other* things' renders the Mongolian *ya'u ke*. For this expression, see above, n. 153. On the steward Önggür (Önggür Ba'urči), see above, §§ 120, 124, 202. Arqai Qasar, also called simply Arqai, was last mentioned in § 234.

'As these three were approaching', lit. 'Saying that these three were approaching.' On Qada see above.

'Went ahead to greet them' (*esergü uqdun*), lit. 'going towards *them* to greet *them*.' Cf. above, n. 177.

'Gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins', lit. 'satins having gold (*altatai*) and having patterns (*hartai*).' *Hartai* ~ *hartu* (§ 273) < *har* (= mo. *ar*) 'lines, stripes or patterns in textiles.' Cf. Les., 47a. For some fine specimens of these textiles (13th-14th c.), cf. the illustrations in THTSC, 168ff. Cf. also CEME, 27.

'He came out of J̌ungdu', lit. 'going out from within J̌ungdu.'

'Did belong to the Altan Qan', lit. 'were indeed (*aǰu'u ǰe*) of the Altan Qan (*Altan Qan-u'ai*).' For the possessive suffix *-u'ai/-ü'ei*, see *Lettres*, 78, n. 243.

'Stealing them ... behind his back (*ečine'ün*).' For *ečine'ün* 'secretly, stealthily', see above, n. 244.

'The great norm' (*yeke yosu*), like 'the great principle' (*yeke töre ~ törö*) of §§ 208, 220, designates the fundamental principle of the *ǰasaq* governing the relationship and mutual obligations of lord and subject. In the present context, the principle/norm invoked is the one whereby all captured property, war booty, etc., belongs to the *qan*, who has the sole right of distribution and reward. Cf. the case of Qulan and Naya'a (§ 197 and com.) – a classic example of the enforcement of this principle.

'You shall be ...!', lit. 'Will you not be ...?' – a rhetorical question.

'Eyes for me to see with,/Ears for me to hear with.' Cf. above, § 203, where the same words were applied to Šigi Qutuqu, but without the possessive pronoun *minu*.

The story involving Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu must have been well known among the Mongols, furnishing, as it were, a fine example of the breach of, and compliance with, the *ǰasaq*. It is told in the SWCCL[1], 69a-b, s.a. 1214, and in SL[2], I/2, 174-175, s.a. 1213 (see above). In Činggis Qan's annals in YS[2] 1, 18, the dispatch of '(Šigi) Qutuqu and others to make an inventory of the money depositories in Chung-tu' is correctly entered s.a. 1215 (the fifth month: 30 May-28 June), but the full story is not told. For a comparison of the various accounts, and valuable comments on them, see Ratchnevsky 1965, 98-103; ISK, 80-82. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1974, 473.

§ **253**. As in the previous sections, here too several events are related in the wrong chronological order. There is also a muddling up of the personages involved. The submission of the Altan Qan, his offer of a royal princess and substantial tribute to Činggis Qan, the latter's withdrawal to the north (via Chü-yung kuan), and the Altan Qan's move to Namging, i.e. to Pien-liang/K'ai-feng, were related in §§ 248, 250 and 251. All these events, as we have seen, took place in the first half of 1214. In the present section, the events described span the period 1214-

1216, then they move back to 1213. The reference to a son of the Altan Qan called Tenggeri, who was sent to serve in the Guard, i.e. as a hostage, together with a hundred companions, is incorrect and due to a confusion with the next entry on Vuqanu. Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu 蒲鮮萬奴 (d. 1233), was the Chin commander in Liaotung who, at the beginning of 1215, after the transfer of the court to Pien-liang, decided to rebel and established forthwith an independent kingdom in Manchuria. However, before long (end of 1216) he followed the example of the famous Kitan defector Yeh-lü Liu-ko 耶律留哥 (1165-1220) and submitted to the Mongols by sending his own son T'ieh-ko 帖哥 – the Tenggeri of the SH – to Činggis as hostage ('Tenggeri' is obviously a corruption of 'T'ieh-ko'). My interpretation is at variance with that of Naka and other scholars, who prefer to relate the SH account to events that occurred during Ögödei's campaign in north China in 1232. See Na[2], 395-398; Mu, III, 167, n. 3. On P'u-hsien Wan-nu, see YS[2] 1, 19; MWESC 31, 4b-5a; Martin, 180, 200, 216; Mu, III, 167-168, n. 4 (for further references). Cf. SWCCL[1], 67b-68a, and the parallel account in SL[2], I/2, 172-173. Various historical and geographical problems relating to this section have been discussed in Uray-Köhalmi 1984a and idem 1985. See also below.

'Sent … to serve as dayguard *and hostage*', lit. 'sent … saying, "Let him be a *turqaq*."' On *turqaq* 'dayguard' = 'hostage', see MEYD, 41; Allsen 1987/91, 31. Most translations fail to point out that, in the present context, *turqaq* is synonymous with 'hostage.' Cf. above, n. 191.

Qasar's, i.e. J̌oči Qasar's, progress eastwards along the coast of Po Hai – the '*dalai*' ('sea') of the SH – took place in the autumn of 1213 and the winter of 1213-1214. According to the Chinese sources, the left wing of the army was led by Qasar, with Alči Noyan, J̌ürčedei and Boča as commanders. They conquered various cities and commanderies west of the Liao River before rejoining the Mongol forces concentrated at Ta-k'ou 大口, just south-west of Chung-tu. See YS[2] 1, 17 (s.a.

1213); SWCCL[1], 65b. Cf. Pelliot 1935, 907ff. In the SH account, Boča is replaced by Tolun Čerbi (last mentioned in § 213).

Beiging = Pei-ching 北京, the Northern Capital of the Chin and former Central Capital (Chung-ching 中京) of the Liao, was the ancient city of Ta-ting (fu) 大定 (府), renamed Ta-ning 大寧 in the Yüan and Ming periods. It corresponds to modern Ta-ming ch'eng 大名城 (Mongol name: Čaγan Suburγan) in Liaoning, on the left (west) bank of the Lao-ha. See DHGM, 484, 737, 831-832, 836 (where 大明 is an error for 大名). Following Pelliot and Ligeti (Pe, 102; L[2], 222), I have adopted the reading Beiging, which is supported by the AT[1], 113b, reading Biigiing (= Beiging; cf. ATL, 187). However, the reading Buiging adopted by Cleaves is also possible. See Cl, 189. During the Yüan, the character *pei* 北 was pronounced *puəi* and *pei* (< *puəi*), and these two pronunciations are reflected in the 13th-14th century Mongolian transcriptions *bui* and *bei* of 北. Cf. Cleaves 1952, 72b (Index); Hattori 1973, 40.

The Mongol term for 'along' is *giǰin*. Further on we find this term again (*Ula Na'u müret giǰin*), as well as its related form *giǰi'ar* (*giǰi'ar balaqat*). *Giǰin* is glossed as *yen* 沿 (= 沿) 'to follow a course; along (= by the road or coast)', and *giǰi'ar* as *pien* 邊 'border, frontier; edge, bank.' See HW, 50. The former corresponds to mo. *kiǰa* 'border, edging, hem (of a garment)', and the latter to mo. *kiǰa'ar* 'border, frontier' (< *kiǰa*). See Les., 474b; cf. below, n. 257.

'If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance (lit. "thinks of rebellion") … border towns.' For this passage, see Mo, 95.

The rivers Ula (a word meaning 'river' in the Jurchen language) and Na'u of the SH correspond to the present-day Sungari (Sung-hua chiang) and its chief tributary the Nonni (Nen-chiang). See DHGM, 698 and 656. As for the Ta'ur, it is the T'ao-erh ho or T'ao-ho (Tor, Taor, Toorïn Gol), a right-hand affluent of the Nonni. See ibid., 848; Na[2], 395-396; Li, 182, n. 253; and, especially, Uray-Köhalmi 1984a and idem 1985.

Thus, according to the SH, Qasar and his horsemen were supposed to cross the territory of Liaotung held by P'u-hsien Wan-nu, then ride northwards across the region of the upper Sungari, Nonni and T'ao-erh rivers and, following the course of the latter *upstream* (in this way approaching the river Khalkha), gain Činggis' main base camp, the 'great *a'uruq*', the location of which is not specified in the text. However, we know that Činggis Qan did not return to Mongolia until the end of 1215-beginning of 1216, and that Qasar's campaign of 1213-1214 was a limited raid ending with his return to north China, not to Mongolia (see above). Clearly, we have here a conflation of two campaigns, that of Qasar of 1213-1214 and a subsequent one, of 1214-1215, which consisted of two separate expeditions in Manchuria, one led again by Qasar, and the other by Muqali. On completion of his campaign, Qasar did indeed return to Mongolia as stated in the SH; but the siege and capture of Pei-ching/Ta-ning was actually carried out by Muqali's army in 1215. Muqali himself did not return to Mongolia until September 1217. The submission of Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu, to the Mongols took place in the latter part of 1216 and falls within the context of Muqali's completion of the military operations in western and southern Manchuria. Therefore, the SH statements that Qasar 'brought the city of Beiging into subjection' and 'forced Vuqanu of the Jürčet to submit' are incorrect and probably tendentious, insofar as they add undeserved glory to Činggis' brother. See Na^2, 397-398; MWESC 3, 14b-15b; Martin, 203ff.

§ **254**. With this section begins the narrative of Činggis Qan's so-called Western Campaign (from ch. *hsi-cheng* 西征 id.; cf. the HYC, A, 29b, 39b) against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. It is preceded by an interesting introduction in which, after recalling the murder of the members of the Mongol embassy – the famous 'Otrar incident' of 1218 – that was the immediate cause of the war, the SH records a dramatic dialogue between Činggis, his wife Yisüi Qatun and his sons on the subject of the succession to

the throne in the event of the conqueror's death. The dialogue, couched in epic language, is almost certainly a later interpolation reflecting the views of that section of the Mongol court and nobility which was opposed to the claims of the lines of J̌oči and Ča'adai – the two elder sons of Činggis. The episode continues, with definite political overtones, in the following section (§ 255), in which Ögödei's claim to succession is upheld, but in such a way as to foreshadow the eventual replacement of his line by that of Tolui, as indeed happened (see below, n. 255 ad fin.). This would indicate that the spurious section must date *after* Möngke's accession to the throne in 1251. It is worth noting that the entire episode is missing from the AT version; therefore, the issue also has a bearing on the date of composition of the SH. See Section Two of the Introduction.

The SH statement that Činggis' envoys led by the Mongol (?) Uquna ('Billy-Goat'; on his name, see Mo, xviii; Hung 1956, 30) were one hundred in number agrees with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's account and is at variance with the figure of 450 given by J̌uvainī and, after him, by Rašīd al-Dīn. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 21, 55, n. 89; HWC, 79; SL^2, I/2, 188. In view of the fact that the SH account is confirmed by a contemporary and independent witness to these events like Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who in 1218 was already serving as scribe-secretary (mmo. *bičēči* < *bičigeči*) at the Mongol court, the figure of one hundred is more reliable than that of J̌uvainī which has been adopted by the CHI, 304, and TM, 68. The 'envoys' sent by Činggis were actually merchants in charge of a caravan whose leader or leaders, bearing credentials from the Mongol court, held (from the Mongol point of view) the status of official envoys or ambassadors (*elčin*). It was indeed their special status as *elčin* that made their murder an inevitable *casus belli*. (On the inviolability of official envoys, see MP^3, 109; cf. Meserve 1992a.) On the composition of the caravan and the controversial account of the massacre of its members by order of Ïnalčïq (*or* Ïnalčuq), the Muslim governor of Otrar (Uṭrār ~ Oṭrār, the former Fārāb, the ruins of which are on the right bank of the Syr

Darya, near the mouth of the Arys River and present-day Kok-Saray), see also TDMI, 397-399; Pelliot 1930b, 52-53, 54; Petruševskiĭ 1992, 114ff.; Schwarz 1992; Meserve 1993, 83-85. On the relations between the Mongols and Khwārazm at the time, see TDMI, 393ff.; CHI, 303ff.; HMC, 53ff.; ČK[1], 108-110 (= ČK[2], 119-122); Petruševskiĭ 1992, 110-114. For the dating of the campaign, cf. Appendix One; and MSR, 59-68.

For the expression *ǰetgüǰü alaqdaǰu*, lit. 'undergoing the arrest and killing', see Poppe 1964, 370, 374.

The expression 'golden halter' (*altan arqamǰï*) undoubtedly refers to the bond uniting the Mongol ruler – hence the term 'golden' – to other rulers who owed him allegiance, i.e. obedience, hence the symbolism of the halter. See Mo, 209; Cl, 189, n. 36; TMEN, nos. 14 (p. 122), 457; Fletcher 1986, 35. Thus, 'to break the golden halter' meant 'to reject the bond of allegiance' and, therefore, 'to rebel against Mongol suzerainty.' From these remarks of Činggis we may infer that already at the time of the Otrar incident, i.e. in 1218, the Mongol court considered Muḥammad as a ruler who was 'bound' to recognize Mongol authority, in other words a subject (*il*) or vassal king like the rulers of the Uighurs, of Hsi Hsia, etc., an inference supported also by the Persian sources. See TDMI, 397. Cf. Mo, 209, n. 197. However, with regard to the caravan mission of 1218, the evidence points to the fact that it had been sent *specifically* to establish commercial relations with Khwārazm and, no doubt, to gather at the same time information on the country, but not to demand, at that stage, its recognition of Mongol suzerainty. Had Činggis wished to obtain a formal pledge of allegiance from Muḥammad, he would almost certainly have sent a different kind of embassy. The words put into Činggis' mouth by the SH are most likely a *post factum* reinterpretation of events.

'To take revenge,/To requite the wrong.' For this expression, see above, n. 58, and §§ 102, 105, 154 and 254. Cf. also Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77.

On Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text), see §§ 155-156. For the alternation *qatun ~ qadun*, see above, n. 54.

'Respectfully gave the following advice', lit. 'advising (*or* making a suggestion, petitioning) informed' (*duratqan öčirün*). On *duratqa-* (= mo. *duradqa-*), see above, n. 193.

'The entire passage from 'The Qa'an' to 'Your order (= word) shall decide!' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 180-185. The whole section and its implications with regard to the succession and inheritance issue, and the role played, once again, by a female member of Činggis' family, have been discussed by various scholars from different angles. Cf. Yao TW 1964, 18ff.; Hsiao KC 1981, 52ff.; Aubin 1975, 551-553; Ratchnevsky 1976, 520; YSLC, 42-43. See also L.L. Viktorova in OUMÉIX, V/1, 155. The following are a few additional remarks.

'Waging a long campaign', lit. 'campaigning a long campaign' (*urtu ča'ur ča'urqan*). On this expression, cf. Cleaves 1948a, 452, n. 13; Poppe 1967, 511-512, no. 5; and above, n. 202. For *ča'ur* 'military campaign', see also F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 234.

'*Still*, living beings who are but (*ele*) born *to this world* are not eternal.' For these words, see Street 1986, 13 (20).

'When your body ... like a flock of birds?' Cf. the almost identical refrain in § 245; and Mo, 156-157.

'Of your four sons, the heroes you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor*?', lit. 'Of your four heroes-sons (*külü'üt kö'üt*, i.e. "sons who are heroes") that are born *of you*, which of them (*ken-i inu*) will you name?' For *külü'üt* 'heroes', see above, n. 163. On the pronoun *inu* used for *anu*, see Mo, 182, 257, n. 244. See also above, n. 249.

'I have given you *this* advice, etc.', lit. 'I have advised what, when we consider it, has been understood by the sons, the younger brothers, the many common people and also by Us "the bad one" (= myself). Let *your* order decide!' In other words, Yisüi Qatun is suggesting something about a matter of state that has been of serious concern to Činggis' immediate family and

the people at large, and which requires a prompt decision by Činggis himself. In view of her privileged standing among Činggis' wives, Yisüi Qatun speaks with authority (note the use of the *pluralis majestatis*), but at the same time she employs the self-depreciatory epithet *ma'un*, lit., 'the bad one', which has, however, also endearment and familiarity connotations. See above, nn. 177 and 245. For the expression *ǰarliq* (= mo. *ǰarliy*) *medetügei* 'Let the order (= your word) decide!' i.e. 'You decide!', see Mo, 233.

The passage 'I forgot,/As if I would not follow the forefathers (i.e. "As if I would not die");/I slept,/As if I would not be caught by death.' is not regarded as a poetic one in Cl, 190. Cf., however, L^2, 244; Če, 237; Oz^1, VI, 271.

'The eldest of my sons' (*kö'üd-ün minu aqa*): cf. §§ 239, 242. For *aqa* = 'eldest', see Cleaves 1963, 70.

'This bastard offspring of the Merkit' renders the Mongolian *ene Merkidei čul uljа'ur* (read *čöl oljа'ur*). I understand the expression *čöl oljа'ur*, which is not glossed in the interlinear version nor rendered in the sectional summary, as meaning literally 'desert acquisition', i.e. 'something seized or captured in a deserted place, the origin of which is unknown; goods or possessions of uncertain origin.' By extension, and as an idiom, 'a bastard child or offspring.' I have discussed this expression at length in de Rachewiltz 1985. I should like to add that the form *čul* (*čūl*, *čŭl*, *čŭl*) 'desert, steppe' occurs in several Turkic languages. Mogol has *čŭl* and Buriat *sŭl* (in the expression *sŭl gazar* id.). See Ligeti 1964a, 29. Cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 19, n. 1. However, my rendering is only tentative and several different interpretations have been proposed by other translators. Among the more recent ones, cf. Oz^1, VI, 290-294, n. 9; Oz^2, II, 173; On, 147 and n. 336 (and the somewhat different rendering in the 2001 ed., p. 242); Če, 237, 472-473, n. 601; and Ev-Pop, 219, 303, n. 39. This obviously insulting remark of Ča'adai is an unequivocal allusion to J̌oči's doubtful paternal origin. It will be recalled, in fact, that Činggis' wife Börte had been abducted

by Toqto'a Beki and other Merkit chiefs in a raid and had been given to Čilger Bökö, younger brother of that Yeke Čiledü whose wife Hö'elün had earlier been abducted by Činggis' father Yisügei. (Toqto'a Beki, who had led the avenging party, was himself the elder brother of Yeke Čiledü and Čilger Bökö.) Eventually, Činggis – then still Temüǰin – rescued Börte with the help of To'oril Ong Qan and J̌amuqa. See the SH, §§ 101, 104-111. Börte was pregnant at the time of her rescue and soon after gave birth to J̌oči. Činggis always accepted J̌oči as his own son, but doubts about his paternity remained and Ča'adai did not miss this opportunity of raising them in order to discredit his elder brother, whom he then regarded as his major rival to the throne. On this whole question, see NHHO, 23-25; and above, n. 104.

'At these words', lit. 'With *his* saying.'

'Grabbing Ča'adai by the collar', lit. 'laying hold of Ča'adai's collar.'

With regard to Ča'adai's stubbornness and unbending character, cf. above § 243 and com.; and Heissig 1976a, 287, nn. 10, 11. For this remark of J̌oči's, cf. Street 1986, 26-27 (46).

For *hontuča-* 'to shoot arrows at a long distance', see above, n. 244. For this passage, see Mo, 123. The entire section from 'as J̌oči and Ča'adai' to the end of § 254 has been translated and discussed in Mo, 187-208. The following are additional remarks and elucidations.

'With Bo'orču pulling J̌oči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm', lit. 'When Bo'orču was pulling from (= at) J̌oči's arm and Muqali was pulling from (= at) Ča'adai's arm.' The Kökö Čos who intervenes at this point is the Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin of §§ 202, 210 and 216, who had been appointed by Činggis as adviser to Ča'adai (§ 243).

For the phrase *qan ečige činu kö'üd-ün dotora čimadača ereǰü büle'e*, lit. 'among the sons, it was for you that your father the Qan had conceived hopes', see also *Lettres*, 75.

'The starry sky was turning upon itself, … /The crusty earth was turning and turning', i.e. even heaven and earth were upset,

so great and general was the state of confusion in the world before Činggis' birth. For the concept of heaven and earth being in disorder, cf. the phraseology of the Orkhon inscriptions, which often offers interesting parallels with that of the SH. See GOT, 244, 276. Cf. also CLC, 162-163.

'Crusty earth', lit. 'earth with epidermis' (*körisütei etügen*). For this expression, cf. Mostaert 1957a, 101, n. 7; and idem 1962, 202.

'It was not her wish', lit. 'she was surely not desiring it' (*güseǰü ese yabuba ǰe*). For *yabu-* as an auxiliary verb, see Mo, 237, n. 221; and above, n. 181. The passage refers to Börte's abduction by the Merkit, so vividly described in the SH, § 101.

'When men met', lit. 'When one *man* met the other *man*' – in combat.

'You speak so as to harden, etc.', lit. 'You speak so as to harden the butter-affection, so as to sour the milk-heart of your mother, the august Qadun (= Qatun).' For *boqda ~ boqta ~ boqdo* 'august, blessed', see above, n. 121.

For the strong, graphic imagery of birth in the poetic passage that follows, cf. § 78 and also § 244.

For the word *qaqunaq* (w.f. *qaɣunaɣ*), lit. 'placenta', here rendered as 'womb', cf. Vietze 1990, 383, where it is incorrectly translated as 'Hodensack.' For *ǰekir-* (= mo. *ǰikere-*) 'to grow cold', cf. DO, 196b.

Kökö Čos, after having stressed the fact that both J̌oči and Ča'adai were born from the same mother, warns the latter not to incur the displeasure of his mother by offending her, as he had done indirectly with his insulting words.

'It will be of no avail', lit. 'It will not do', i.e. Börte will be so angry with him that he will not be able to soothe her and regain her affection. For the poetic imagery of these verses, cf. Khomonov 1981, 59. Kökö Čos then recalls how difficult life had been for Ča'adai's parents and how much Börte had done for her children.

'His black head was bound to the saddle,/His black blood was poured/Into a large leather bucket.' Kökö Čos means that

Činggis was then constantly in action and so busy that he never got off his horse; so precarious was his life in those conditions that he could lose his head or spill his blood at any moment – as if his head had been attached to his saddle and his blood poured into a bucket (also attached to the saddle). He never rested or slept in a proper bed, and usually went hungry. For the verb *qanǰuqala-* (= mo. *yanǰuɣala-*) 'to attach to the saddle', cf. also Vietze 1990, 380. The reading *qatuqala-* in Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 71 (cf. Če, 240, 475, n. 608) is incorrect. See Mo, 198-199. The 'large leather bucket' (*nambuqa* [= pmo. *nambuɣa*, mo. *namaɣa*], from which the verb *nambuqala-* [= pmo. *nambuɣala-*] 'to pour into a *nambuqa*') was the bucket containing mare's milk or water normally carried by the Mongol horsemen. See § 87 and com.

'The flesh between his teeth' (*šigi*), i.e. his own gums – in parallel with 'his own saliva.' See Mo, 200.

'He strove fiercely' (*ölümlen*). The verb *ölümle-* originally means 'to fight to the death' (see above, n. 208); from this primary meaning derive the secondary meanings of 'to fight (*or* strive) fiercely; to labour', especially in relation to a person's duty to, or in the service of, his master. Cf. what is said in § 281 about Doqolqu (Čerbi). This verb was still used in the 17th century. For the word *ula* 'sole of the foot' (mo. id.), cf. also HCWLYTT, 164-167, no. 48.

'It was the time when', lit. 'At the time when.'

'Pulling firmly her tall hat, etc.': cf. § 74 for the same verses, which apply there to Mother Hö'elün. The same imagery used in both cases indicates that this was a standard characterization of the dutiful mother in strained circumstances. For the verb *boqtala-* 'to put on the *boqta*', i.e. the Mongol traditional headdress worn by ladies of rank, see above, n. 74. For this poetic section, cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 78.

'She gave you half of it', lit. 'she gave you her half.' For the expression *qo'olai quči-*, lit. 'to choke *at* the throat', cf. § 213 ad fin. 'She gave you all of it', lit. 'she gave you her all.' 'She herself went hungry', lit. 'she went empty.'

'Cleaning your whole body' renders the Mongolian *buyi tanu arilqaǰu* (= mo. *arilγaǰu*). The word *buyi* is not glossed in the interlinear translation and is otherwise unknown. Mo, 206, 208, left it untranslated, and so did Cl, 194, and Γa, 187 (cf. also Li, 122, where the entire line is ignored). Other scholars have variously interpreted this term as follows: 'gums' (Ha, 126); 'body' (Ko, 185); 'body filth' (Da[5], 216; Mu, III, 177); 'skin socks' (Ja, 390); 'baby wraps or diapers' (*mutsuki*: Oz[2], II, 177; cf., however, Oz[1], VI, 280, 306-308, n. 22, where, as in Če, 476, n. 615, the expression *buyi arilqa-* is understood to mean 'to care for, rear [a child]'). As pointed out in TH, 158 (= ǰYT, 276), *buyi* is tu. '*boi*', i.e. *buy ~ boy* (*/bod*) 'body; the (whole) figure, stature, length' (VWTD, IV, 1639-1640, 1800; cf. ĖSTY, II, 176). However, this meaning was not adopted in Do[1], 307, where the sentence in question is rendered 'she removed your clumsy walk' (除汝等之孱行), i.e. 'she taught you how to walk' – a totally unacceptable interpretation notwithstanding the explanations in note 19 on p. 315, and in Do[2], 193, n. 4. The meaning of 'body' for *buyi* has likewise been adopted by On, 149 (cf. the 2001 ed., 245); Ta, 187; and Ev-Pop, 221 (see also 303, n. 43).

'And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*?', lit. 'And now does she not think, saying, "I shall see the good of you, my *sons*!"?'

As already noted by Mostaert (Mo, 191), this section contains one of the most beautiful passages of the SH, viz. Kökö Čos' eloquent and moving speech – an excellent example of the early Mongolian epic genre preserved in the SH. L. Moses has pointed out that the 'Quarrelling Sons' motif in the SH, of which four examples are illustrated in Moses 1987, is 'part of a folktale tradition common to the peoples of the Mongol steppe in the 13th century.' As for the poetic mother/wife love theme which is also prominent in this section (as in § 74), cf. Sárközi 1978, 150-151. It is likewise important to point out that the entire section dealing with Yisüi's question and the succession issue is missing in the AT. See ATL, 188. For the relevance of this

omission, see below, n. 255, and Section Five of the Introduction.

Finally, I should add that here, as elsewhere in the SH, Khwārazm is never mentioned by this name, but as 'the Sarta'ul people' (*Sarta'ul irgen*). Cf. §§ 177, 198: *Sarda'ul*(= *Sarta'ul*)-*un qaǰar* 'the country of the Sarda'ul (= Sarta'ul).' For the name Sarta'ul (w.f. Sartaγul, pl. of Sartaγ?), see above, n. 152. There is also no mention here of Muḥammad of Khwārazm , who will make his appearance only in § 259. As for the inconsistent use of the titles *qan* and *qa'an* in this section, see also below, n. 255.

§ 255. Continuation of the preceding section, also missing in its entirety in the AT. See ATL, 188, and the comments below.

Note the form 'Činggis Qan' in place of 'Činggis Qa'an' – an obvious oversight by later editors. Cf. above, nn. 1 and 250, and below.

For the words 'How can you speak thus ... like that!', cf. Mo, 208, n. 193. Cf. also Cleaves 1963, 70.

'I shall not dispute J̌oči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill', lit. 'Not speaking of J̌oči's strength and of a reply of (= to) *his supposed* skill.' The alliterative saying or proverb quoted by Ča'adai is a reply to J̌oči's words in the preceding section (§ 254), which Ča'adai takes as an empty boast. For translations of, and comments on, this passage, see Mo, 123, 194-195, n. 178; Cl, 195, n. 56; and Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 79 (where, however, the words *üge-tür ükü'ülüksen* are incorrectly transcribed as *uke'er uku'uluksen*).

'J̌oči and I' and, further on, 'Ča'adai and I', lit. 'J̌oči and we', 'Ča'adai and we', where 'we' (*ba*: excl.) = 'I.' Instead of 'The eldest sons are J̌oči and I', Bese 1969, 123, translates 'J̌oči and we, we are the elder brothers of the boys', which is incorrect. Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 1, 34a; Wei, 165-166).

'We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan', lit. 'We shall, associating ourselves, give *our* strength to *our* father the Qan.' Cf. further on where, instead of '*our*

father the Qan' (*qan ečige*), which occurs again a few lines later, we find '*our* father the Qa'an' (*qa'an ečē* and *qa'an ečige*). The alternation *qan* ~ *qa'an* is also present in § 254, where Yisüi refers to Činggis Qan as 'the Qa'an', whereas J̌oči and Kökö Čos call him 'the Qan.' This is a further indication of editorial inconsistency: the original text had 'the Qan' throughout. Cf. below, n. 281.

'Shall have his head split open', lit. 'We shall split open *his head*' (*dalbaru čabčildusu*) – a 'vertical' action, in poetic contrast to the cutting of the heels across (*kinggürü čabčildusu*), a 'horizontal' action. *Kinggürü čabčildusu* is, literally, 'We shall cut his heels across', i.e. 'We shall hamstring him.' Cf. Bese 1969, 124, 126. Although in the present sentence the head is not specifically mentioned, it is in §§ 229 and 278.

'But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and reliable*' renders the Mongolian *Ögödei lü örük bui*. For the use of the emphatic/limitative particle *lu/lü*, cf. Street 1986a, 15-16 (2). The meaning 'steady *and reliable*' of the word *örük* (< tu. *örüg*) is an extension of its primary meaning of 'quiet, at rest; calm, unruffled' (cf. §§ 230 and com., 233), glossed here *tun-hou* 敦厚, lit. 'firm and thick (= solid)', i.e. 'steady and reliable.' See also Street 1986a, 15, n. 11. For Ögödei's qualities of firmness and dignity, cf. *Successors*, 17. For other aspects of Ögödei's character, see D'Ohsson, II, 87-99; and the SH, § 281 and com.

'Close to', lit. 'at the side of, next to' (*dergede*). Of Činggis Qan's sons, Ögödei may have been the one who spent more time in the company of his father and who was therefore closer to him, but according to the words put into Ögödei's mouth by J̌uvainī, it was Tolui who 'was ever in attendance on Chingiz-Khan day and night, morning and evening, and has seen, and heard, and learnt all his *yasas* and customs.' (HWC, 186.)

'The great array of the "teachings of the hat"', lit. 'the teachings of the hat whose array (*bara'a*) is great (= imposing).' The expression 'teachings of the hat' (*maqalai-yin bauliya*) deserves comment. For *bauliya* 'training, teaching, instruction, precept', a deverbal noun in *-ya* (on which see JŚ, 43-44, § 57)

from *bauli-* (= mo. *buuli-*) 'to train a hunting falcon; to train, exercise, practise; to teach', see Ra, XI, 136-137, n. 255; Oz[1], VI, 323, n. 7. Cf. also § 260 for its usage in relation to a hunting falcon. The hat (*maqalai*) is a symbol of authority. See §§ 103 and com., 244. The 'teachings of the hat' clearly designate the instructions concerning authority, viz. governance – in other words, how to rule as a *qan*. The word *bara'a* 'display, array' = *baru'a*. Cf. the expression *yeke baru'a* in § 184. See above, nn. 184 and 195. In the present instance, *yeke* 'great' refers both to the multitude and importance of the teachings. In On, 150 and n. 338 (cf. the 2001 ed., 246, n. 586), 'great' modifies 'the hat', not 'the teachings.' Cf. also Ev-Pop, 222, 303, n. 46. However, this is not supported by the construction of the whole sentence in Mongolian.

For *bolu je* '*this* will be fine' (Cl, 195: 'it will do'), cf. Mostaert 1939, 329; Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 70.

'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other?' On this sentence, cf. Mo, 125. Činggis says that it is not necessary for the two brothers, who are so antagonistic towards each other, to join forces and cooperate (*qolba'ara-*) in ruling the Mongols as this would inevitably lead them into further strife. The world (lit. 'Mother Earth') is big enough for both. Therefore, instead of bringing them together, he will keep them apart by giving them separate domains or principalities (*qari*) to rule over, while the state will be managed by Ögödei. For *ötögen eke* 'Mother Earth' (= *eke etügen* of § 113), see Mostaert 1957a, 99, 101, n. 8; and idem 1962, 202. Cf. also above, nn. 245 and 254.

'Extending the camps (= grazing grounds) that can be easily divided', lit. 'Making wide the camps which are such as to be divided (*salqu šitü*)', i.e. by bringing together many nomadic camps or grounds (*nuntuq*) that can then be easily apportioned and turned into separate domains (*qari*). For *šitü*, see above, n. 164; for *qari* and its various connotations, cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; Cleaves 1991, 127, n. 3; and above, n. 123.

Činggis also warns his two sons against making empty promises, such as serving him, for if they broke them, as Altan and Qučar did (see §§ 123 and 153), they would become the laughing-stock of the people. For the expression *üge baraldu-* 'to pledge one's word', see above, n. 123.

For the words *ker kikdelü'ei yambar bolqaqdalu'ai*, lit. 'How were they done by? In what way were they caused to become *what they became*?', cf. Poppe 1964, 374.

'Seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?', i.e. 'seeing them will remind you of Altan and Qučar and their unhappy fate, and this will make you keep your word.'

When *my* father the Qa'an, favouring me, tells me to speak', lit. 'When father (*ečē* = *ečige*) the Qa'an, favouring, I am told, "Speak!"' Ligeti, in his text edition (L^2, 229), reads *qahan-eče* instead of *qahan ečē*, which is incorrect. For *ige* > *ē*, see IMCS, 65.

Mona qoyina (= *mono qoyina*) 'later, in future, a long time from now.' See above, n. 93. For *mono* ~ *mona*, cf. 'Quelques pro-blèmes', 267 (3).

'Perchance' renders Mongolian *maqa*, a term expressing doubt but possibility. See above, n. 31.

'Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass, etc.' This is an old saying, still living in the dialects, describing something – a person or thing – so inept, worthless and lacking character that even if 'dressed' in fresh grass or in fat it would be rejected by oxen and dogs. See Mo, 168, n. 154. To the corresponding saying in modern usage registered by Oyunbilig and Nasundalai and cited by Mostaert, loc. cit., one can add the following, which is no. 2801 in MCÜD, I, 62: *övsönd oroovč üxėr idėxgüĭ/ööxönd oroovč noxoĭ šinšixgüĭ* 'Although one wraps it in grass, the ox does not eat it; although one wraps it in fat, the dog does not sniff at it.' Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77, 80; Khomonov 1981, 58. For a discussion of these words in relation to the issue of succession, see below. For the word *öleng* 'fresh grass', a borrowing from Turkic, cf. TMEN, no. 620; DO, 531b; Les., 633b. For *e'ükün* (= mo. *ögüken*, *ögekün*), cf. DO, 530a.

This word occurs again in the identical passage at the end of the section in the form *ö'ekün*. Cf. Mo, 168.

'To miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise' is another saying applied to an unskilled hunter who, when shooting arrows, would miss a large animal like an elk showing its side to him, hence a very easy target, just as he would miss a difficult target like a 'rat lengthwise', i.e. a rat showing only its head and back to him. Ögödei expresses concern about the possibility that some of his offspring and descendants who will rule the empire after him may be incompetent and unfit to govern. For different interpretations of this simile, see Oz[1], VI, 317; Ev-Pop, 223, 303, n. 47. Cf., however, Cl, 196, and n. 68.

'I'll say as much as that', lit. 'I say this much of mine.'

'I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,/I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.' Cf. the same words used by Činggis Qan with regard to J̌amuqa in § 200. The second line is, literally, 'Waking up *him* who has fallen asleep.'

'I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes" .../Not being remiss in *my* "yes",/Not being absent from the ranks', i.e. 'I shall keep my oath (of loyalty and obedience to Ögödei) and perform my duty in the army.' For the use of the word 'yes' (*ǰe*) to seal and formalize a promise or oath, see above, n. 108. 'And the whip (*mina'a*) of his chestnut horse (*ǰe'erde*)', i.e. 'I shall force him to go ahead by acting as the whip of his steed', possibly an oblique reference to Ögödei's 'relaxed' temperament requiring some stimulus to action. For *ǰe'erde* (= mo. *ǰegerde*) 'red, chestnut' (here = *ǰe'erde mori*[*n*] 'chestnut horse'), cf. TMEN, no. 158. For *mina'a* 'whip', cf. above, n. 195; and Gantogtox 1990, 122. However, *ǰe'erde* (J̌e'erde 'Chestnut') may actually have been the name of Ögödei's horse. Cf. § 3.

'Descendants of ... appoint one of you to govern', lit. 'Descendants (*uruq*: see Mo, 168) of ... make one of you to govern.' In his final and most important pronouncement, Činggis states – or, rather, is made to state by the anonymous author(s) of this passage – the principle of succession to be

observed by the cadet branches of his family, viz. that Činggis' line has priority over the lines of his brothers Qasar (= Joči Qasar), Qači'un (now deceased, hence the mention of Qači'un's son Alčidai; see above, n. 242), Otčigin (= Temüge Otčigin) and Belgütei. What Činggis says is that each of the cadet branches may indeed choose a member of its own branch as successor if the line of Činggis fails. However, *even* if the descendants of Ögödei, who has now been appointed successor by Činggis' will, prove unfit to rule (as foreshadowed by Ögödei himself), it is unlikely that there will not be found among all Činggis Qan's descendants, i.e. the descendants of his other three sons, one who will make a good ruler. Činggis' will (lit. 'decree' or 'order': *ǰarliq*) must not be disobeyed and rescinded (the verb employed in the text is *hutar-* 'to destroy'), for this would be a serious and punishable crime. 'To err' (*ende-*) and 'to be at fault' (*alda-*) actually signify 'to commit a criminal act or offence entailing retribution.' Cf. above, nn. 203 and 224 ad fin. As stated earlier (n. 254), Činggis' pronouncement would have given legal sanction to the replacement of the line of Ögödei by that of Tolui. However, as already pointed out by Barthold (TDMI, 478-479), Rašīd al-Dīn records a different tradition. According to the Persian historian, under Ögödei and Güyük there was an understanding (among the princes and the notables) that the imperial succession would remain in the line of Ögödei: 'So long as there exists a piece of flesh from the children of Ögedei Qa'an, and even if you roll it in grass and this grass the cow won't eat, and if you roll it in fat and this fat the dog won't look at, yet we shall elect him to the khanate and nobody else will sit on the throne.' Thus Elǰidei of the J̌alayir (i.e. the Alčidai of the SH, § 226, etc.), the younger brother or cousin of Ilügei (see above, n. 226), reminds the princes when Möngke was elected *qa'an* in 1251. See SL^2, I/1, 95. Moreover, Güyük had apparently accepted the imperial dignity only on condition that the khanate would be settled in his family. This was agreed by the princes and nobles at the *qurilta* (in 1246): they unanimously pledged that they would not give the khanate to

anybody else 'as long as there remains of thy (i.e. Güyük's – I.R.) race a piece of flesh such as an ox or dog would not accept wrapped in fat or grass.' See *Successors*, 181-182 and n. 18. Cf. also Vlad.[2], 130; Li, 182, n. 255; Ratchnevsky 1965, 117 (where the relevant quotations from § 255 are also given); ISK, 89; Ratchnevsky 1974, 480; MJK, 63-64; ČK[1], 113-115 (= ČK[2], 125-128); and, more recently, Tegüsbayar 1990. According to Ratchnevsky, the whole section is spurious, a conclusion with which I concur, especially since it is entirely absent from the AT, *whereas the preceding portion of § 254 and the entire § 256 are included.* This is no mere lacuna in the text or a scribal error: the omission can only be explained by the fact that the passage in question was not there in the first place. It should also be emphasized that all the sources – Chinese, Persian and Mongol – agree that Ögödei was the son *formally* designated by Činggis as his successor, and that they refer to a 'decree' or 'will' to that effect. See HWC, 185; *Successors*, 30; YCMCSL 5, 3a (cf. de Rachewiltz 1960, 243ff., n. 114); and the SH, § 269. Cf. Sections Two and Five of the Introduction.

§ 256. This section resumes the account of the campaign against Khwārazm which had been interrupted at the beginning of § 254 with the interpolation of the narrative concerning the issue of succession. The present section is important insofar as it supplies the specific reason for the later Mongol campaign against, and destruction of, the Hsi Hsia kingdom, viz. the refusal of the Tangut king, here called simply Burqan (see below), to join forces with Činggis in the war against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. The initial passage concerning Činggis' dispatch of envoys to the Hsi Hsia ruler to remind him of the earlier promise and exact the auxiliary troops which were meant to form, or rather strengthen, the right or west wing of the Mongol army (see above, n. 249) has been translated in full and discussed in Mo, 208-214. For additional references to words and expressions found in this section, cf. Cleaves 1953, 96, n. 19; *Lettres*, 33; and Poppe 1964, 374. The Hsi Hsia ruler in

question, designated by his epithet of (Iluqu) Burqan (on which see above, n. 249), was Li Tsun-hsü 李遵頊, i.e. Shen-tsung 神宗 (r. 1211-23), on whom see RC, 83 (J). On these events, see OITG, 306-307. For the 'breaking of the "golden halter"', see above, n. 254.

Aša Gambu is a Tangut name like J̌aqa Gambu, the second element of which, *gambu*, means 'commander of an army.' See above, n. 107. The first element Aša (< tib. 'A-za) – a T'u-yü-hun dynastic name – occurs also in Turkic-Mongolian nomenclature. Cf. HCG, 102, 226-227; Mu, III, 202-203. n. 2; and, especially, Rerikh 1961, 43-44. See also CHEIA, 373. This personage was obviously a high official of the Hsi Hsia court, but is not otherwise known. On him, see also §§ 265, 266.

'Forestalling him said', lit. 'first … said.'

'Incapable *of subjugating others*', i.e. by themselves, without other peoples' military assistance.

'With haughty words', lit. 'saying big words.'

Bö'et here = 'at once' as in § 190 ad fin.

'By detouring in their direction', lit. 'moving in *their* direction round about (*kelbes*).' *Kelbes* is a word not found in Written Mongolian; however, it has survived in the modern languages and dialects. See, e.g., ord. *k'elbes Ge-* 'pencher un peu sur le côté' (DO, 411a). Cf. also MKT, 609c: *kelbes kelbes* 'staggering, faltering.' In Written Mongolian we have the related form *kelberis* 'crooked, not straight' (Les., 447a). Činggis means that his army, now ready to proceed westwards against Khwārazm, should instead change direction ('lean on the side'), i.e. it should turn south and attack the Tangut kingdom. While this would not be difficult in itself, it was not convenient at that juncture, hence Činggis' pledge to punish the Tanguts after his victorious completion of the Western Campaign. For *je teli* 'enough of this matter, let it pass, let it be, etc.', and *teli* 'this (*or* that) affair (*or* matter)', see Mo, 176; and above, nn. 242, 246.

'If I am protected by Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*).' Cf. § 199 ad fin.: 'You will also be protected by Heaven Above (*de'ere tenggeri*)', and § 203: '(being) protected by Eternal Heaven.' See de Rachewiltz 1973, 27; and above, n. 203.

'To pull in the reins' (*ǰilo'a tala-*) means 'to halt the campaign, to return home (after a successful military expedition).' For this expression, see Cleaves 1996, 20, n. 140. Cf. also Li, 183, n. 256. 'Golden', as usual, is the attribute of things pertaining to the sovereign. Cf. above, nn. 21, 254.

Haenisch 1933, 512-527, contains a translation of §§ 256-268 of the SH. Although this translation is superseded by Ha, 128-136 (cf. HH, 155-163), it is still a useful contribution because it brings together material from different sources on Činggis' last campaign and death.

For the AT account of the campaign against Hsi Hsia, see below, n. 265.

§ 257. According to the Chinese sources, Činggis Qan left his *ordo* of the Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er; see above, n. 128) in the fourth month (16 May-13 June) of 1219 and by the fifth month (14 June-12 July) he was on the Eder. Thence the army proceeded across the Altai to the Black Irtysh (Kara Irtysh), where Činggis pitched his summer camp. He did not leave the Irtysh until autumn, probably not before October. Cf. TDMI, 393ff., 403; de Rachewiltz 1962, 46-47, nn. 49, 50. The Alai ('Arai' in the text, but correctly 'Alai' in AT[1], 115a) seems to be the same locality – apparently a pass on the Altai – as mentioned in § 198, but the identification remains doubtful. It seems certain, however, that it was a mountain pass on the way from the Eder to the Irtysh; thus, one may assume, an important pass on the Altai such as the Ulaan Dabaa, as suggested by Pėrlėė. See above, n. 198.

On Qulan Qatun, one of the favourite wives of Činggis Qan, see § 197 and com. It is interesting that, as noted by Ligeti (Li, 183, n. 257), Qulan Qatun was chosen in preference to Yisüi Qatun, who had acquired merit by expressing her concern on the

issue of succession (§ 254) – possibly a reinforcing argument for the spuriousness of the whole episode.

Temüge Otčigin is called here Otčigin Noyan, as in §§ 190, 195, 245, 269 and 280. Being the youngest brother and, therefore, 'keeper of the hearth', he remained behind to guard the home patrimony and main base camp in Mongolia, which comprised the great *ordo* of Činggis Qan in the Sa'ari Steppe. When the Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un (see above, n. 248) crossed Mongolia on his way to Central Asia, he reached Temüge Otčigin's camp (on 24 April, 1221), then situated four to five days' ride south-east of the Kerulen at the point where this river flows into the Hulun Nōr. See the HYC, A, 16b; TOA, 64-65; ISK, 213. This was Temüge Otčigin's own family domain or apanage. See HCG, 178.

For *geǰige* 'in support', i.e. in the rearguard, see above, n. 170.

Regarding the expedition of J̌ebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar, see TDMI, 419-420. Toqučar is mentioned here for the first time and his name reappears in § 280 as one of the officials entrusted by Ögödei with the post stations' administration. He is mentioned by both J̌uvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn. According to the former, 'Toghachar Küregen (who was the son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan)' fell in the attack on Nishapur (Nīšāpūr) in November 1220. See HWC, 174-175. According to Rašīd, Toqučar (also called Dalan Turqaq Toqučar, Toqučar Baγadur and Toqučar Noyan) was a Qonggirat, i.e. an Onggirat (see above, n. 61). When Činggis sent him, with J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, against Muḥammad of Khwārazm, he disobeyed Činggis' order not to plunder the territory of the governor of Herat (Herāt) Malik Xān Amīn al-Mulk (the 'Qan Melik' of the SH; see below) and was subsequently killed in an encounter with some mountain people in Ghur. See SL^{2}, I/2, 217-222; SWCCL^{1}, 72a, 77a. Clearly, this personage cannot be the Toqučar mentioned in § 280 of the SH. For these conflicting reports and the problem of identification, see TDMI, 423-424; HWC, 174-175, n. 11; and Mu, III, 204-205, n. 5. For the name Toqučar, see

Poppe 1975, 161. The title *sultan* (< pers. *sulṭān*) appears in the SH only once in this form; at all other times, alone or in combination, it is written *soltan*. Cf. *Lettres*, 58; Poppe 1955, 41. The sultan in question is 'the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people' of § 260, who in the SH is apparently identified not with Muḥammad, as one would expect, but with his son J̌alāl al-Dīn, who became *šah* of Khwārazm upon his father's death at the end of 1220. As is known, the Mongols never made contact with Muḥammad and eventually lost track of him. Barthold comments on this point: 'On the Mongol invasion he played such a pitiful role that the Mongols themselves completely forgot him. Even the Mongol account of the thirteenth century (i.e. the *Secret History of the Mongols* – I.R.) omits all mention of Muḥammad, and speaks only of Jalāl ad-Dīn, merging both persons in one, as is apparent from the narrative of the operations of Jebe, Sūbuday and Toquchar.' (TDMI, 426.) On the other hand, in the three instances in the SH when the title *sultan ~ soltan* occurs alone, it may well refer to Muḥammad rather than to his son, who throughout these sections is regularly referred to as J̌alaldin Soltan. On this name, cf. MMḤS, 116, Note 152. See also below. It should again be emphasized that the entire SH narrative concerning the Western Campaign is fragmentary, i.e. incomplete, confused and inaccurate as to the sequence of events, indication of localities, etc., partly, no doubt, owing to the work of later editors who, for various reasons, interfered with the original text, but, essentially, because the SH is chiefly concerned with domestic matters and the Mongolian scene, with scant attention being paid to events, situations and people far removed from 'home.' See Sections Three and Six of the Introduction.

'Attack him from your side' (*qamsatqun*): J̌ebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar were to go around the sultan's territory and attack him from the back, while Činggis, with the main body of the Mongol army, attacked him from the front. On the important military term *qamsa-*, see above, n. 133.

For the apposition *J̌ebe tere*, lit. 'J̌ebe – that one –', in which *tere* only has the function of drawing attention to the preceding word, see Mo, 89, n. 84. Cf. also Cleaves 1959, 91, n. 364. 'Qan Melik' (in this section the form 'Melik' alternates with 'Melig') is the 'Amīn Malik' of J̌uvainī (HWC, 732) and the 'Khan-melik' (Xān Malik) of Rašīd (SL^2, I/2, 220-223), i.e. Amīn al-Mulk, the governor of Herat in Khorasan (Xurāsān), on whom see TDMI, 423, 439-443. Cf. also Poppe 1955, 40.

'Border towns' (*kiǰi'ar balaqat*). Towards the end of the present section the first word is written *kiǰa'ar*, and in § 253 we find the form *giǰi'ar*. In the SH the form *kiǰa'ar* (cf. 'ph. *k'iǰa·ar*, mo. *kiǰa'ar*) alternates with *kiǰi'ar* and *giǰi'ar*. See above, n. 253.

For *tariyaǰin* (= mo. *tariyači*[*n*]) 'peasant, farmer', see TMEN, no. 886. (The capital 'T' in L^2, 232, is a printing error.) For *-ǰin ~ -čin*, cf. HCG, 151, 253.

'Because his towns had been attacked', lit. 'Saying, "My towns have been attacked."'

With regard to the name J̌alāl al-Dīn, in the SH it is transcribed phonetically as 'J̌alalding', which is to be read 'J̌alaldin', the final *-g* of the Chinese transcription being unavoidable but redundant (arab. > pers. *dīn* can only be transcribed in Chinese as *ting*). Cf. the AT transcription 'J̌ilačin' for 'J̌alalǰin.' See AT^1, 115b (ATL, 189-190, incorrectly reads 'J̌alaǰin'; cf. LDAT, 225: 'Džilačin' [= J̌ilačin]). In this section the form *qa'an*, usually transcribed as *qa-han* (*qahan*; see above, n. 1), alternates with the latter, confirming that the *-h-* of the Chinese transcription represents a hiatus. The famous defeat of Šigi Qutuqu near Parwan (Parvān) in the spring of 1221 – the most serious reverse suffered by the Mongols during the whole campaign – is described in detail in SL^2, I/2, 221-222. Cf. the earlier account by J̌uvainī in HWC, 406-407. See TDMI, 441-445. Ratchnevsky 1965, 103-107, has translated and discussed the relevant Persian and Chinese sources on these events. Cf. ISK, 83-85.

'By so doing, they prevented them from joining forces', lit. 'Defeating (*or* overcoming) them causing *them* not to join forces.'

Buqar is the correct Mongol name of Bukhara (Buxārā), the great city of Transoxania captured by the Mongols in February 1220. Cf. Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 27. 'Semisgab', on the other hand, is a corruption of 'Semisgen', the Mongol name of Samarkand (Samarqand), which derives from tu. Semizkänd, lit. 'Fat (= Rich) City.' The distortion has occurred as a result of an incorrect reading of the word Semisgen in Uighur-Mongol script. See Pelliot 1935a, 159; Li, 183, n. 257; and Cleaves, op. cit., 243, n. 28. Samarkand was captured by the Mongols in March 1220. Udarar is Otrar (Uṭrār ~ Oṭrār), called Udirar in § 258 and Udurar in § 259, all distortions of the original form also due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script. Otrar was besieged by the Mongols in November 1219. On these cities, see TDMI, General Index, s.v.; and de Rachewiltz 1962, 58, n. 109; 55-56, nn. 87 and 90. In this and the following sections of the Commentary, the standard names of the major cities and regions are used, hence Bukhara, Samarkand, Parwan, Khorasan, etc. See above, n. 152.

'They pursued them ... in the Šin River', lit. 'Pursuing them as far as the Šin River, when they were made to go, as they went in throwing themselves into the Šin River, many of the Sarta'ul indeed perished there in the Šin River.' The Šin River (Šin Müren) is the Indus (Šin < Sind). Cf. Cleaves 1949, 94, n. 3. For *sö'e-* (? *sü'e-*) 'to perish', cf. idem 1985, 246, n. 40. On the Mongols' push to the Indus in pursuit of J̌alāl al-Dīn in November 1221, see TDMI, 445-446. The SH account erroneously makes Qan Melik, i.e. Amīn al-Mulk, join J̌alāl al-Dīn in the latter's flight to India. After the famous battle on the Indus, which took place probably between 21 August and 19 September 1221, Činggis did not cross the river and pursue J̌alāl al-Dīn and the remnant of his army, but instead advanced northwards along the right or west bank of the Indus and spent

the following months in 'mopping up' operations and the destruction of mountain forts in the territory of Gībarī and Koh-Pāyah, i.e. in the region immediately north of the Kabul River, between Parwan in the west and the Swat Valley in the east. See TN, 1043ff. Rašīd says that after J̌alāl al-Dīn's escape across the Indus, in the spring of 1223, Činggis 'went up the river Sind, and sent Ugedeĭ down the river to subdue those districts. ... That summer Čingiz-khan agreed to stop in the steppe (*or* plain) which the Mongols call Pervan, waiting for Bala-noĭon (i.e. Bala Noyan, whom he had previously sent with Dörbei Noyan in pursuit of J̌alāl al-Dīn); [all] the districts which were within those boundaries (i.e. in that region) he captured and plundered.' (SL^2, I/2, 225; the parenthetical comments are mine.) The $SWCCL^1$, 77b, 78a, says: 'In the spring of (the year) *kuei-wei* (1223), the Emperor's (= Činggis Qan's) troops followed the Hsin-mu-lien 辛目連 (= Šin Müren, i.e. the Šin [Indus] River) upstream (i.e. northwards); he ordered the third prince (i.e. Ögödei) to follow the river downstream (i.e. southwards). ... In the summer, the Emperor escaped the heat in the Pa-lu-wan 八魯灣 (Parvān) Valley.' 'Fled upstream along it', lit. 'fled upstream along the Šin River.' The year 1223 given in the above sources is an error for 1222. Cf. below, n. 259.

For Činggis' immediate movements after the battle on the Indus, see also HWC, 135-138; and CHI, 321. The account in GK, 121, is confused and contradictory. In view of all this, the SH statement that Činggis 'went to plunder Batkesen' must be taken *sensu latissimo*. 'Batkesen' (AT^1, 116a: Bedge<g>sen) is a corruption of an original reading 'Badaqšan' (= Badaxšān), i.e. Badakhshan in northeastern Afghanistan.

The Eke ('Mother') and the Ge'ün ('Mare') streams of the SH are the Mongol names of two small rivers (*qoroqan*), almost certainly tributaries of the Kabul River, which cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. The plain or valley of Baru'an (Baru'an Ke'er; cf. AT^1, 116a: Baraγan [? Baruγan] Kegere), i.e. Parwan, lies just north of Kabul, and it is there, on pasture land at the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that by all

accounts Činggis spent the summer of 1222 before returning to the north on his homeward journey. Cf. also the statement by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 in HYC, A, 44a (see TOA, 98-99) that in March 1222 the imperial encampment was three days' ride south of the Hindu Kush. On the other hand, Boyle has suggested that perhaps 'Baghlān' and not 'Parvān' is meant by the 'plain of Baruan' of the SH, and the 'Parvan' (= Parvān) of SL^2 (see above, but for Boyle's 'Parvan' read 'Pervan'), the SWCCL (see above) and the YS (see YS^2 1, 22, s.a. 1223). See HWC, 139, n. 1. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 67-68, n. 159. This is, however, unlikely: the problem is one of chronology, not of nomenclature.

On Bala's and Dörbei Noyan's expedition in pursuit of J̌alāl al-Dīn across the Indus and their attack on Multan (Multān), see the above-mentioned sources and, in particular, HWC, 141-142 and n. 4; SL^2, I/2, 225; D'Ohsson, I, 309-310. See also Boyle 1954, 406-410. The Dörbei Noyan in question is the same personage called Dörbei Doqšin in §§ 240, 261. On Bala, i.e. Bala Noyan, of the J̌alayir tribe, see §§ 120, 202 (no. 35), and 243. He will appear again in §§ 259 and 264. Instead of 'J̌alayirtai' – the reading found in AT^1, 116a – the SH has the (metathetical) form 'J̌aliyartai', almost certainly a scribal error since 'J̌aliyar' for 'J̌alayir' does not appear anywhere else in the text.

For J̌ebe's allegiance to Činggis and the origin of his name, or rather nickname (designating a particular type of arrow), see § 147 and com.

On Toqučar and the contradictory accounts about him in our sources, see above.

For the expression *ö'erün dura'ar*, lit. 'by his own will (*or* desire)', see above, n. 185.

'Making *this a matter of* law' (*ǰasaq bolqan*). Činggis is again invoking the *ǰasaq* as a normative law or principle in such an instance, just as in § 197. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 9; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

'Severely', lit., 'exceedingly' (*maši*).

For a good overview of Činggis' movements during the Western Campaign and the role of his generals, cf. ČK[1], 114-120 (= ČK[2], 129-134).

§ 258. Continuation of the account of the Western Campaign. In this section the chronology of events and the nomenclature are particularly faulty.

'Barula' is an error for 'Baru'an', i.e. Parwan. See above, n. 257.

The Amui Müren, or Amui River, is the Amu Darya (Amū Daryā, i.e. the Oxus). The form found in AT[1], 116a, is 'Amur Müren' – clearly a scribal error for 'Amui Müren', tacitly corrected in ATL, 191, and LDAT, 226. The form Amui itself is probably due to a graphic error (final *yod* for *waw*). The original correct form must have been Amuu, corresponding to Persian Amū. Alternatively, Amui is simply a variant form of Amuu. Cf., e.g., mo. *a'ui* ~ *a'uu* (> *a'ū*) 'vast.'

Ürünggeči (Örünggeči in § 260) = Urgenč, the name employed by the Mongols for Gurganj (Gurgānǰ), the capital of Khwārazm, situated then on both banks of the Amu Darya. See TDMI, 457 and n. 3; Mu, III, 224-225, n. 3; de Rachewiltz 1962, 60, n. 117; and Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 29. On the operations of J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, and the siege and capture of Gurganj (end of 1220-April 1221), see TDMI, 433-437.

Iru = Herāt, and Isebür = Nīšāpūr, i.e. Nishapur in Khorasan. Contrary to Boyle's opinion (see Boyle 1954, 403ff.), I think that phonetically 'Iru' can only represent 'Herāt', the identification earlier proposed by Haenisch and adopted also by Ligeti (Ha, 179; Li, 183, n. 258). The identification of Iru with Merv, first proposed by K. Grønbech (see Boyle, op. cit., 410, n. 35), is unlikely in view of the fact that Merv is mentioned further on (§ 261) as 'Maru.' The form 'Isebür' for 'Nišabur' is probably due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script, as pointed out by Ligeti, loc. cit.; cf. Pelliot 1930b, 23. On the other hand, *Nišabur ~ *Išabur is also possible. For *n-* ~ zero, cf. HCG, 332-333. Herat was conquered by Tolui *after* Merv

and Nishapur (see TDMI, 446-449; Boyle, op. cit., 404), but as noted earlier this entire section is chronologically unreliable.

Udirar = Uṭrār, i.e. Otrar. Cf. above, n. 257. In this and the following section there is an anachronistic reference to Činggis' advance on, and capture of Otrar. See below, § 259.

On the expression *üge'er yabu-* 'to act according to the words (of s.), to obey the command (of s.)', see 'Trois documents', 475; and Cleaves 1953, 78-79, n. 8.

'Sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei', lit. 'when he ordered, he sent saying, "Act according to the words of your *brother* Ögödei."' In the SWCCL[1], 75b-76a, it is stated that in the autumn of 1221 Činggis sent J̌oči and Ögödei (there is no mention of Ča'adai) as leaders of the right wing to conquer Urgenč, i.e. Gurganj, and that after the army had assembled he ordered that it should be under Ögödei's command. According to SL[2], I/2, 216, the reason for this action was the discord between J̌oči and Ča'adai.

§ 259. As we have seen (n. 257), Otrar (Udurar ~ Udarar ~ Udirar < Uṭrār) was besieged by Činggis at the very beginning of the Western Campaign, almost certainly in November 1219; Bukhara and Samarkand were taken in February and March of the following year. In the second mention of Otrar in this section, the name of this city is incorrectly written 'Uduber' in both Y^1 and Y^2, but correctly as 'Udurar' in Y^3.

Bala is Bala Noyan of the J̌alayir, already mentioned in § 257 in connection with the pursuit of J̌alāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. While Bala Noyan and Dörbei Doqšin were busy in pursuit, Činggis was in the Baru'an (Parvān) plain, or valley, north of Kabul. Therefore one would assume that it was here, in the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that the summer quarters or residence (*ǰusalang*) of the 'Soltan' must have been situated, this being the place, too, where Činggis spent the summer of 1222. (Here 'Soltan' refers no doubt to Muḥammad rather than to J̌alāl al-Dīn; see above, n. 257.) However, as we shall see below, this was almost certainly not the case. The

ridge (*niri'un*) of Altan Qorqan ('Golden [= Yellow] Creek'), where Muḥammad's palace was situated, cannot be identified. On the term *niri'u(n)~niru'un,* cf. above, nn. 147, 177.

'The weather has become warm', lit. 'the year has become warm (*or* hot).'

For Iru = Herāt, see above, n. 258.

Sisten (a faulty transcription for Sistan) = Sistan (Sīstān), the province of which Zaranǰ, near the modern town of Zabul, was the capital.

Čuqčeren (an erroneous transcription for Čoqčaran) = Čoxčarān, another name of the river Herirud (Harīrūd) just south of Herat. See Boyle 1954, 404-405; and Ligeti 1950, 179, n. 37. This river is actually mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in connection with Tolui's capture of Herat in 1221. The relevant section reads as follows: 'He (i.e. Toluï) subjugated all this region and captured Merv. ... He also captured the city of Nišapur. By the end of spring of the (above-)mentioned year (1221) he had already subjugated all these cities and districts. [Then] Čingiz-khan sent a message from Talikan [to Tuluï] to the effect that (his) son Toluï should return before the coming of the (summer) heat. In accordance with the order he (Toluï) came back. On the way he made a raid in the province of Kukhistan, crossed the river Čukčaran and captured the city of Kherat and its district, and from there he joined [the army] of Čingiz-khan. ... After that, Čingiz-khan together with [his] sons and armies spent the summer at the foothills of Talikan.' See SL^2, I/2, 219-220. (The additions in parentheses are mine.) In the SWCCL^1, 75b-76b, it is recorded that in 1221 Činggis and Tolui attacked and captured Bukhara, Samarkand and other cities. In the summer, Činggis 'escaped the heat in the place where the sultan of the Western Regions used to escape the heat.' In the autumn, he 'ordered Tolui to attack Yeh-li (Eri = Herāt), Ni-sha-wu-erh (Nishawur = Nīšāpūr) and other cities.' Činggis himself took the cities of Tirmiẕ and Balx (the Termez and Balkh of our maps), then besieged the fortress of Ṭāliqān. In the winter Tolui 'also conquered Mu-lu-ch'a-yeh (*read* -k'o, i.e. Marūčaq, or 'Little

Merv', on the Murgab River), Yeh-k'o Ma-lu (Yeke Maru = Merv the Great), Hsi-la-ssu (Sira[q]s, i.e. Sarakhs in Khorasan) and other cities. He made his army advance further.' Always according to this source (76b-77a), in the spring of 1222, Tolui again conquered Tus (Ṭūs), Nishapur and other cities, but 'since the heat was then about to reach its peak, the Emperor (i.e. Činggis Qan) sent a messenger to instruct the fourth prince (i.e. Tolui) to return in haste. On the way through the country of the Mu-la-hsi (*Mulaχi[d] = Mulāḥid, lit. "heretics, infidels" [< arab.], i.e. the Ismailians: this must refer to Quhistān; cf. MR, I, 115, 133; NMP, II, 785-787; and Ligeti, loc. cit.), he greatly ravaged it and, crossing the Cho-cho-lan (*J̌o[q]ǰoran) River, he conquered Yeh-li (Herāt) and other cities. At that time, the Emperor was attacking the fortress of T'a-li-han (Ṭāliqān). After the audience (with Tolui) was over, the (two) armies together captured it (i.e. Ṭāliqān). ... That summer (the Emperor) escaped the heat in the plain of the fortress of T'a-li-han (Ṭāliqān).' With regard to Tolui's movements, the chronology of the YS (YS^2 1, 21-22) account agrees with that of the SWCCL, and we also find in it a reference to the crossing of the Cho-cho-lan River and the capture of Herat in the spring of 1222. J̌uvainī has an entire chapter devoted to Tolui's conquests in Khorasan in the spring of 1221; among the many cities and towns mentioned are Merv, Herat and Nishapur, as well as 'the country of Siǰistān', i.e. Sistan, mentioned also in the present section of the SH. See HWC, 151-152. There is no mention, however, of the ridge of Altan Qorqan and of Čoqčaran. As we have seen, the latter is a river and the SH is at fault in referring to it as a city (*balaqasu*). I agree with Ligeti, loc. cit., that this is a straightforward error and not to be understood, like Boyle does, as 'the town of Čoxčarān' or 'the Čoxčarān town' (= the town on the Čoxčarān River) meaning Herat, since Herat has just been mentioned. See Boyle 1954, 405. As for the ridge of Altan Qorqan and the place where Muḥammad of Khwārazm used to spend the summer, its location is also not clear because

of the confused chronology of events. Tolui's conquest of Khorasan, including the crossing of the Čoqčaran/Herirud River, took place in 1221, not 1222 as incorrectly stated by the SWCCL and the YS. (For this one-year discrepancy, see Wang Kuo-wei, *Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Kung nien-p'u* 耶律文正公年譜 in WKW, *ts'e* 32, '*yü-chi* 餘記', 5b; cf. also above, n. 257.) The fortress of Ṭāliqān besieged and conquered by Činggis in 1221 was apparently the citadel of Nuṣrat Kūh between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rūd in Khorasan, whereas the place also called Ṭāliqān, in the neighbourhood of which – i.e. in the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush – both Činggis and Tolui spent the summer of the same year, was a town in Badakhshan still known by that name. It corresponds to the 'Taican' of Marco Polo. See TDMI, 439 and n. 2, 444; HWC, 118, n. 2, and 132; SL^2, I/2, 219 and n. 1; de Rachewiltz 1962, 67-68, n. 159. (The above place-name is variously written Ṭāliqān, Ṭālaqān and Ṭālqān. There existed also a homonymous district near Qazvin in Iran.) It was in all probability here, and not in the plain of Parwan on the other side of the Hindu Kush, that Muḥammad's summer residence and the unidentified Altan Qorqan ridge must have been situated. In the SH the confusion is compounded by the reference to Činggis' waiting for Bala *before* the mention of Tolui joining his father. Cf. SWCCL^1, 77b-78a, where (s.a. 1223!) it is stated that, after having followed the Indus River upstream in the spring, Činggis ordered Ögödei to go downstream, but because of the approaching summer told him not to seize the city of Sistan and sent another general to conquer it. Činggis himself set up his headquarters in the Parwan Valley waiting for Bala Noyan.

§ **260**. This section deals with a particular incident following the capture of Gurganj (Gurgānǰ/Urgenč) in April 1221 which, to my knowledge, is not recorded elsewhere. Örünggeči = Ürünggeči. Initial *ö* and *ü* are identical in Uighur-Mongol script, hence the confusion. Medial *t* and *d* are also identical, thus we have here Šigi Quduqu instead of Šigi Qutuqu. All

these discrepancies in proper names are purely orthographical in nature. See above, n. 138.

'Who had refused to submit' renders *öčin meljen aqsat*, lit. 'who had refused to petition *Činggis Qa'an* (i.e. to address him as a superior)', in other words, 'who had refused to acknowledge themselves as subjects.' For *melje-* 'to dispute, deny, repudiate, etc.', see Les., 535a.

The verb *doroyita'ul-* (fact. of *doroyita-* 'to decline') meaning 'to cause to lower (i.e. to force to come down from a higher position); to degrade, abase', corresponds to mo. *doroyitaγul-*. See ibid., 263a. This verb appears again in the same passage in the form *doroyitda'ul-*, in which the *-d-* is either redundant (cf. Oz^1, VI, 357), or, since it occurs also in Y^3 (13, 20a), possibly due to *t-* gemination. Cf. § 245: *üiyiletdü'esü*. See above, n. 245. I think that *balaqat irgen anu* refers to the cities and peoples of the sultan, thus *anu* 'their' = *inu* 'his.' Cf. the *Hsiao-ching* in Mongolian (Yüan), where the same usage is found. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 30 (8a7, where, however, *kündelel* should read *kündülel*), 43, and 63, n. 91. See also below, n. 273. For the inverse case, see Mo, 95, 182, 257, n. 244; *Matériel II*, 6 (1r, 5). Cf. *Lettres*, 31; Cl, 201; and Ev-Pop, 226. It should be noted that the plural form *anu* (? a sort of hon. plural) is used in *both* the *Hsiao-ching* and the present passage with reference to the sovereign.

'All belong to Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'are all of Činggis Qa'an.'

'Now that ... we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this', lit. 'At the moment when ... we have caused ... .' On the 'increase of strength (*or* might: *güčü*)' by Heaven and Earth, see above, nn. 113, 201 and 208.

'We – *the men of* your entire army –', lit. 'We – your many men and geldings –.' Like *eme kö'ü*, the expression *ere aqta* 'men *and* geldings' can be taken literally (as in §§ 239 and 248), or as a '*mot-couple*' meaning 'the army.' Cf. ch. *jen ma* 人馬

id. See above, n. 239. Given the context, the latter meaning applies here.

'Are rejoicing and are content with ourselves' is a tentative interpretation of the expression *bayasču maqaiǰu amui*. *Bayasču*, converbum imperfecti of *bayas-*, means 'rejoicing'; *maqaiǰu*, the converbum imperfecti of *maqai-*, a verb not attested elsewhere to my knowledge, is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear translation. The sectional summary merely says: 'We the people are all happy' (俺衆人皆歡喜), rendering the general meaning of the Mongolian. In H, 122, n. 260 (5), Haenisch wrote: 'Das Wort muß soviel wie einen Ausruf des Frohlockens bedeuten: "*maḥai*" rufen.' In HW, 106, he rendered this verb as 'frohlocken?' Finally, in his Ha, 130-131, he translated the sentence as 'Darüber sind wir, dein ganzes Heer, voll Freude und frohlocken.' Kozin (Ko, 571, 609) was the first to refer to mo. *maɣayiča-* 'to play at knucklebones' and to suggest for it a (? secondary) meaning of 'to make merry' – an interpretation he adopted in his translation (ibid., 188: 'we rejoice and exult'). In this he was followed by Damdinsürėn, Yao and Jagchid, Ligeti and others. See Da[5], 220; Yao-Ja, III, 382; Li, 125; Ja, 403, 405, n. 3; Ta, 193; Če, 248. For Doronatib, *maqaiǰu* = (?) *baqaǰu* 'seething with activity' (see Do[1], 336 and 338, n. 3); whereas Mu, III, 218, translates *maqaiǰu* as 'neighing (with joy).' TH, 222 (= ǰYT, 382-383), on the basis of the Ejine dialect, interprets *maqai-* as meaning 'to exert oneself, to do all one can sparing no effort.' Cf. Oz[1], VI, 361: 'emboldened'; and On, 153: 'bustling happily' (in the 2001 ed., p. 251, *bayasču maqaiǰu amui* is rendered as 'are busily rejoicing'). Cl, 201, leaves the verb untranslated. It is true that in Written Mongolian there is a verb *ɪnaɣayiča-* which Kowalewski renders as 'jeter l'osselet, frapper sur l'osselet.' See Kow., 1981a; cf. MEPD, 490b: 'to play a game with knuckle bones.' More specifically, as explained in Gol., III, 205c, this verb means 'after hitting and dislodging the first knucklebone, to hit another knucklebone

from a further distance', i.e. to earn a second throw after 'knocking out' the first knucklebone, a meaning retained in Khalkha Mongolian. See Cėv., 325b, s.v. '*maaxaĭcax*.' *Maɣayiča-* is the cooperative form in *-ča-* (on which see 'Verbstamm.', 29-30, §§ 34-35) of **maɣayi-*. In the old language, this verb *may* also have had the meaning of 'to make merry'; however, this is unlikely because such a meaning would undoubtedly have been known to the Ming translators. (Incidentally, in the SH, § 116, the term for 'to play together with knucklebones' is *ši'alǰa-*, corresponding to mo. *siɣalǰa-*.) It is more likely, in my view, that the text was corrupt at this point, as one can also infer from AT[1], 117a, which in the corresponding passage gives *bayasču erüǰü* instead of *bayasču maqaiǰu* (or *maɣayiču*). From the context it is clear that the corrupt word must have had a meaning similar to *bayas-*, i.e. 'to be happy, merry, etc.' The only possible candidate is *maɣasayi-* 'to smile happily, to have a contented air, to be self-satisfied or content.' See MKT, 808c-809a; Cėv., 325b; and MED, 206b, s.v. '*maasaĭx*.' I think that the original text had *bayasču maɣasayiǰu amui* 'are rejoicing and self-satisfied (i.e. content with ourselves)', and that in the manuscript used by the Ming translators the letters *s* and *a* (*-sa-*) of *maɣasayiǰu* were somehow damaged and/or obliterated with the result that the translators could only make out a meaningless word *maɣayiǰu* (= mmo. *maqayiǰu ~ maqaiǰu*; cf. *bayi- ~ bai-*, etc., see 'Quelques problèmes', 265-266) which they transcribed and left untranslated. I find this interpretation more satisfactory than those of Haenisch, Kozin and their followers.

'Let *this* be a lesson for their future *conduct*!', lit. 'Let them learn their future *conduct from this*!'

'We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be discouraged *as a result of this*', lit. 'We fear lest the sons may be neglectful of their natural virtue (*aburi-yan alqasa'uǰai*)', by which is meant that Činggis' excessive severity may have a demoralizing effect on his sons by weakening their innate qualities of courage and boldness. Cf. A. Mostaert *apud* Cl, 201, n. 106: 'The sense

is: "We fear that, if you treat them so harshly, the princes may be discouraged and lose the zeal to fulfil their duty of which they have given evidence up to the present."' For the verb *alqasa-* 'to be remiss (discouraged, confused), etc.', cf. above, n. 199. See also below.

'Will you not ... ?', lit. 'Will it do if you ... ?'

On *ǰalira-* 'to become appeased, to calm down', see Mo, 231.

'Quoting ancient words,/Citing old sayings.' For these words, see § 78 and com.; Gaadamba 1968, 81-82; Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 77. Cf. also § 244 and com.

For the poetic passage 'To the point ... their brow', see Mo, 214-216; Serruys 1985a, 219; and Ozawa's remarks (Oz[1], VI, 365-366, n. 6) concerning Mostaert's comments in Mo, 215, regarding the word *baγta* (*baqta*) in the expression *bayta alda-* 'to almost sink, to be on the point of sinking.'

'Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions' renders *čimali'ar söyü'er du'ulqan büküi-tür*, lit. 'at the moment when he was causing *them* to hear reprimands and admonitions.' For *du'ulqa-* (= mo. *duγulγa-*) 'to let know, inform', see 'Trois documents', 461. As to *söyü'er* (= pmo. *sǫyüger*), cf. §§ 22 and 277 where we find the expression *söyü'er üge* 'word(s) of admonition.' See Mo, 243, n. 227; Cleaves 1949, 115, n. 122. *Čimali'ar* (w.f. *čimaliγar*) is, like *söyü'er*, a deverbal noun in *-γar/-ger* (= mmo. *-'ar/-'er*; cf. GWM, 46, § 150; JŚ, 40, § 50) from *čimali-* 'to find fault with, to resent.' See § 281: *čimaliqai üge* 'resentful words.' Cf. mo. *čimala-* 'to be dissatisfied' (Les., 184a); and Cleaves 1982, 80, n. 25. Contrary to Haenisch (HW, 27, s.v. 'cimar'), Ligeti (L[2], 235), de Rachewiltz (R, line 10724, 209a, s.v. 'cimar-i'ar'; and Ra, XI, 152, n. 260), Cleaves (Cl, 202), Street (St, line Y463), and others, the word *čimali'ar* must not be read *čimar-i'ar*, the instrumental of *čimar* 'reproach, rebuke' (see HW, 27), and must not be understood as 'by (= by means of) rebuke.' Nor can *söyü'er* be regarded as a noun in the instrumental case. See Oz[1], VI, 367-368, n. 8.

Qongqai Qorči of the Adargin (on which see HCG, 57-58) is not otherwise known, as is the case with Qongtaqar Qorči of the Dolonggir (a subtribe of the J̌alayir; see ibid., 164-165, 255-256, and Poppe 1975, 162). Čormaqan Qorči, on the other hand, is well known. At the end of § 260 he is called Ötegedei Čormaqan, i.e. Čormaqan of the Ötegen tribe. However, Pelliot has suggested that 'Ötegedei' is an error for 'Ötegüdei', the ethnicon derived from the term *ötegü bo'ol* 'ancestral slave' which, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, had eventually become a tribal name. See HCG, 86; cf. Bese 1988, 31-32. Čormaqan was, in fact, a Sönit. He belonged to a Christian Nestorian family which played an important role in Iran under Ögödei. He became the commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces in western Asia in 1231 and, following an incapacitating illness, was replaced by Baiǰu Noyan in 1242. In the Persian sources he is usually called Čormaγun Noyan. He is repeatedly mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn, and in the Armenian and European medieval sources. On him, see HCG, 86 (and the references to MPa contained therein); Cleaves 1949b, 419-420; MWE, Index, 2, s.v. For the Sönit clan, see the SH, § 47.

'That have just begun training', lit. 'that are just to enter into training.' For *bauliya* 'training', see above, n. 255. The Mongol expression for 'to train birds (= falcons, for hunting)' occurring in § 249 is *šiba'un surqa-* (= mo. *sibaγun surγa-*).

'The sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign', lit. 'The sons are learning to wage a military campaign just as much as this.' 'At such a time', lit. 'at the moment when.' 'Piling abuse on them', lit. 'abusing the sons as if in heaps (*mene metü*).' For the expression *mene metü*, see above, n. 41.

'We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart.' For the words *setkil-iyen alqasa'uǰai*, cf. the words *aburi-yan alqasa'uǰai* above. See also n. 199.

For the expression *naran šinggegü-eče urququ-da gürtele*, lit. 'from the sun setting as far as *its* rising', see *Lettres*, 72-73; Cleaves 1952, 111, n. 205.

'Tibetan dogs' (*töbödüt noqot*). *Töbödüt* is the plural of *töböt* (= mo. *töbed*) 'Tibet(an).' Cf. ord. *t'öwöt* 'Tibetan' (DO, 676a). On the origin of the name Tibet and the Turkic and Mongolian forms of the name, see Bazin & Hamilton 1991. The large Tibetan mastiffs (tib. *'brog-khyi*; cf. TED, 402b) were known for their fierceness and were therefore highly prized (and, indeed, feared) by the Mongols, who used them for hunting and as watchdogs. They are mentioned by Marco Polo, who brought one back to Venice, and by modern travellers like Peter Goullart. See MP[1], 271-272; cf. ibid., 228-229; MP[2], II, 45, 49, 52, n. 5; 400-401, and 401-402, n. 1; 483, n. 3; FK, 132. For this breed of dogs, see GPS, 77. See also Yisügei's words on the subject of fierce dogs in § 66, as well as the other references to hounds in the SH. Indeed, the dog-lore of the Mongols deserves special study. See, provisionally, Z. Lonjid (Lonžid) in *CMJS* 4:1995, 421-428. For a different interpretation of the word *töbödüt* which, however, is at variance with the SH gloss, see Oz[1], VI, 369-370, n. 10; On, 154, n. 344. For the plural *noqot* (= pmo. *noqod*; cf. AT[1], 117a: *nod*[*o*]*d* [rather than '*odud*' or '*odun*'] pro *noqod*) – an unusual form – see Poppe 1975, 167; and Street 1990a, 361 and n. 119.

Tabar 'goods, possessions' is a synonym of *et* (= mo. *ed*), with which it is often combined. See above, § 248 and com. In § 252 we find the words *altan mönggün et a'urasun ya'u ke* 'gold, silver, goods, satin and *other* things.'

Irgen orqan (~ *irge orqa*; cf. above, n. 150) means 'people' in general; here, however, the 'subject people' are meant.

'Here in the west', lit. 'This *here* west' = 'In this western region.' Cf. Street 1990, 173.

Qalibai Soltan = Xalīfa Sulṭān, i.e. 'Sultan Caliph' – two titles used here as the ruler's name. Cf. Poppe 1955, 40. Baqtat = Baghdad. The 'Abbāssid caliph of Baghdad at the time was al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225); however, his grandson and second successor al-Mustanṣir (623-640/1226-1242) is clearly the caliph in question, since Čormaqan's expedition against J̌alāl al-Dīn in western Asia took place in 1230/31, and it was not

until 1238 that a Mongol army attacked the neighbourhood of Baghdad, where it was repulsed by al-Mustanṣir's forces. See *Successors*, 46ff., 190-191, 232-233; MWE, VIII, 335. Čormaqan's campaign during Ögödei's reign is in fact mentioned in § 274. This is yet another anachronism of the SH. It should also be noted that Činggis' order at the conclusion of this section is not followed by the end-of-quotation verb *ke'e-*, as is the case also in §§ 105, 123, 124 and 135.

§ 261. This section, too, is confused and anachronistic. Dörbei Doqšin (Dörbei Noyan) of the Dörbet (Dörbetei) was mentioned above, n. 257, in connection with his and Bala Noyan's expedition against J̌alāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. However, as we have seen (n. 259), Merv and Herat and the other cities in Khorasan had already been conquered by Tolui earlier in 1221, apparently without Dörbei's participation. In the present section several places are mentioned, and of these the first two, i.e. Aru and Maru, no doubt correspond to Herat ('Aru' being an error for 'Iru') and Merv. See above, nn. 258 and 259. For Maru = Merv, see also Boyle 1954, 410, n. 35. It is possible that Dörbei was one of the generals stationed at Nasaf (Naxšab) who took part in quelling a revolt at Merv in the latter part of 1222. See TDMI, 448-449; Boyle, op. cit., 409-410. In this case, Aru (= Iru)/Herat has been inserted here by mistake, probably because 'Iru and Maru' formed, as it were, a regular pair for the Mongols, like, *mutatis mutandis*, 'Gog and Magog' in the West.

As for 'the city of Abtu of the Madasari people', Murakami has proposed the identification of 'Abtu' with Alamūt, the famous stronghold of the Ismailians or Assassins in Mazandaran (Māzandarān), and 'Madasari' with Mazandaran itself – both Abtu and Madasari being approximate and metathetical forms (Alamūt > *Amtu > Abtu; and Māzandarān > *Madanzaran > *Madazari > Madasari). See Murakami 1977, idem 1978; and Mu, III, 238-239, n. 4. I think that Murakami is correct in identifying Madasari with Mazandaran, but I am not convinced

by his argument that Abtu derives from Alamūt, not only on linguistic, but also on historical grounds, since there was no question of a Mongol attack on Alamūt at this time. I think that Abtu is a corrupt form of the name of another town in Mazandaran, possibly Āmul, which we know was sacked by the Mongols at the end of 1220, or early in 1221. See TDMI, 424-425. A form like *Amulu for Āmul could, in a Mongol manuscript, easily be confused with 'Abtu.' Poucha's identification of Madasari with Maǰarat, i.e. with the Hungarians, is incorrect as already pointed out in Li, 183, n. 261. See Poucha 1954a. Cf. §§ 262, 270. In any case, this short section seems to be a conflation of two separate events – a campaign by Dörbei Doqšin and an attack on towns in Khorasan and Mazandaran – arbitrarily inserted at this point of the narrative, the only connecting link with the preceding section being, it seems, a reference to the 'Baqtat people.'

For *hindus*, pl. of *hindu* (= pmo. *indu*) 'Northern Indian', see Cleaves 1949, 93-94, n. 4; de Rachewiltz 1962, 61, n. 123.

§ **262**. This section is a very brief notice concerning the immense reconnaissance raid of J̌ebe and Sübe'etei around the Caspian, across northern Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Caucasus and south Russia. The raid followed the two Mongol generals' unsuccessful pursuit of Muḥammad of Khwārazm in Mazandaran in the winter of 1220-1221, and ended with their return to Central Asia, where they rejoined Činggis' main army north of the Syr Darya sometime in 1223. See EM, 257-261, 515-521; ES, 306-308; GK, 122-123; and, especially, Allsen 1987/91, 11-17. In the present section of the SH, the raid of 1221-1222/23 is confused with the great campaign of Ögödei against the West (1236-1242) led by Batu and Sübe'etei, in the course of which Kiev – the 'Kiwa Menkermen' of the SH (see below) – was taken and destroyed (6 December 1240). See §§ 270 and 274, where this campaign is mentioned repeating many of the names of peoples and places in § 262, some of them in slightly different transcriptions. For the later raid in north

Caucasia, see Allsen, op. cit., 17-28. As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 186, n. 270), some of these names, viz. those referring to the Hungarians, could only have come the Mongols' way during the campaign of 1237.

'Northwards' is an error for 'eastwards.'

The names of the countries (*qarin*) and peoples (*irgen*) of the eleven 'tribes' (*ayimaq*) listed in this section have been discussed and identified by Pelliot in his NHHO, 115-162 (esp. pp. 128-130). Cf. also Li, 184, n. 262; Cl, 203, nn. 117-130. For the sentence in question, cf. Street 1990, 185. They are the following: 1) Qanglin = the Qanglï of Turgai, see above, n. 198; 2) Kibča'ut, pl. of Kibčaq, called Kimča'ut (for *b* ~ *m*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 270) in § 198 = the Qïpčaq, on which see also n. 198; 3) Baǰigit, pl. of *Baǰigir – the Bašγïrd, i.e. the Bashkirs, of the Urals; 4) Orusut, pl. of Orus – the Rus, or Russians; 5) Maǰarat, pl. of Maǰar = the Magyars, or Hungarians; 6) Asut, pl. of As, i.e. the Alans or Ossets of the Caucasus; 7) Sasut, pl. of Sas (in §§ 270 and 274 this name appears in the form Sesüt, pl. of Ses), either the Saxons of Transylvania or the Saqšïn of the lower Volga, but almost certainly the former; 8) Serkesüt, pl. of Serkes = Čerkes, i.e. the Circassians; 9) Kešimir = Kašmīr (see below); 10) Bolar (in § 270 erroneously written Buqar) = Bolγar, i.e. the Volga Bulgars; 11) Kerel (erroneously written Raral), another name for the Hungarians, from hung. *király* 'king.' Most of these names appear also in Rašīd al-Dīn's account of Ögödei's western expedition and in his chapter on the princes of the Qïpčaq Steppe. See *Successors*, 55, 69-70. These and other relevant passages in Rašīd's and J̌uvainī's works have also been discussed by Pelliot, op. cit., 122-128. It should be noted that the Hungarians are mentioned twice in the above list, once as Maǰarat and once as Kerel; it is possible, however, that the name Kerel in the SH may not refer to the Hungarians, but to another people, the identity of which cannot at present be established with certainty. See Pelliot, op. cit., 141-142; de Rachewiltz 1965, 191, n. 30; and the important discussion in Aalto 1982.

According to K. Jahn, the 'Keler and Bašγïrd' mentioned by Rašīd in his version of the *Oγuz nāma* definitely refer to the Hungarians. See GORD, 22, n. 1. For the Kerel, cf. also TMEN, nos. 1447, 1641; D. Sinor in *BSOAS* 30:1967, 429-431; and, for the Maǰarat, Vásáry 1975; BT, I, 184.

On the name Orosut, with prothethic *o*, cf. *Lettres*, 23. On the Orus/Rus, see NHHO, 262b, s.v.; SMEH, Index, 11a; OR, 906b, s.v.; NNRS, Index, 13a-b. On the Asut (Alans), see NMP, I, 16-25 (esp. p. 17); *CKSYCTT*, 1984.8, 5; SMEH, Index, 2a.

On the Serkesüt (Circassians), see Hung 1956, 30, n. 5 (for the word *serkes*); Allsen 1987/91, 18 and n. 40; and below, n. 264.

The name Kešimir, i.e. Kašmīr, is misplaced here, as it refers to a separate expedition launched soon after against northern India and Kashmir under the command of Oqotur (*or* Hoqatur). See *Successors*, 55 and n. 216; and below, n. 270.

For the Bolar (Bolγar, Bulgar), cf. TMEN, no. 766; SMEH, Index, 3b; NNRS, Index, 3b; and, for the first Mongol raid against the Volga-Bulgars, see Zimonyi 1985.

In the present context, *ayimaq* 'a group of related families (*ayil*)' is used in its more evolved meaning of 'tribal or ethnic group.' Cf. above, n. 156. See also MSR, 30.

As for the geographical names in the present section, the Idil (§ 270: Adil; § 274: Eǰil; all from Turkic Etil ~ Itil) is the Volga; the J̌ayaq is the river Ural; and Kiwa Menkermen is Kiev. See Pelliot, op. cit., 129 and n. 4, 114, n. 1, 227; NMP, I, 299. Kiwa Menkermen (the second element, Men-Kärmän, was the Turkic name of this city) is called Menkermen Keyibe in § 270 and M. Kiwa in § 274. Keyibe is another form of Kiwa (< Kiiwa < *Kiewe < *Kiyewe > Keyibe). Cf. TMEN, no. N 151 = 2096; NHHO, 114. Kiva, as the name of Kiev, appears also in the *Josippon*, a Hebrew book whose first version was written in the tenth century. See D. Flusser, ed., *The Josippon* (*Josephus Gorionides*), Jerusalem, 1978, § 1, line 18 and n. (in Hebrew; I owe this reference to Prof. M. Erdal of Göttingen). In the AT[1], 117b, in the section corresponding to § 262 of the SH, the same

names appear in forms more or less corrupt. Unfortunately, in ATL, 194, various readings have been arbitrarily altered and omitted. Thus, e.g., the river Idil of the SH is written Aǰil (or Aǰil; cf. the Eǰil of § 274) in AT[1], *not* Iǰil, as given in ATL as well as in AT[2], II, 84, and LDAT, 228. In this as in other instances, Šastina clearly follows AT[2] instead of AT[1], which makes one doubt whether she had been able to make full use of the photocopy of AT[1] in the possession of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences (see Section Five of the Introduction). The correct reading is found in Kozin's edition (Ko, 396).

§ 263. This historically important section has been translated in full and annotated in Cleaves 1953a, 241-244; however, the words *Ürünggeči balaqasun-ača* have inadvertently been left untranslated. Cf. Cl, 203-204.

Daruqačin and *daruqas* are the plurals of *daruqači* (= pmo. *daruγači*) and *daruqa* (= pmo. *daruγa*) respectively, both terms meaning 'chief local administrator *or* controller, resident commissioner (in a city or district), governor; overseer, chief (of an office).' Both derive from *daru-* 'to press (down)' → 'to hold under (= in subjection); to control.' Thus, the two terms literally mean 'one who presses down', hence 'one who holds people in subjection', 'one who controls subject people.' Cf. Cleaves 1950, 103 [50], 128, n. 293; and Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1954a, 448-449, n. 23. 'Oppressor' would be a fair rendering, semantically as well as in terms of the official's actual role, his principal functions being tax-collection and the recruitment of people for service and corvée. Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that the two terms mean 'the one pressing the seal' = 'the (local) official in authority.' A detailed discussion by Cleaves of both *daruγa* and *daruγači* is found in Cleaves 1953a, 237-255. There is a vast literature on the *daruγačin* (~ *daruγas*) and their role in the Mongol empire. To the books and articles cited by Cleaves in the above-mentioned article, and those given in Ra, XI, 157-158, n. 263, one must add the following: TMEN,

no. 193; RH, 202, no. 29; MKSLT, I, 465-631; H. Harayama in *Shisō* 29:1963, 32-46; and the numerous references to primary and secondary sources in MRC, 178-191. The most up-to-date study on the subject is, in fact, MRC (which now supersedes RLGYC), an indispensable work for the understanding of this early administrative office. The genesis of the institution as described in § 263 of the SH is discussed by E. Endicott on p. 17ff., where she also deals with the interpretation of the terms *daruyači* and *daruya*. On this controversial issue, cf. also TMEN, no. 193 (p. 323), and Róna-Tas 1986, 136. 'In the various cities', lit. 'in the cities' (*balaqat balaqat-tur*). Cf. § 247: *qotot qotot balaqat-tur* 'to various towns and cities.' See above, n. 247. For the expression 'the resident commissioners (*daruqačin*, *daruqas*) in (*or* of) the (various) cities', cf. 'Trois documents', 436.

A basic bibliography on Yalawači, i.e. the famous administrator, originally a merchant, Maḥmūd Yalavač (tu. 'the Envoy') (d. ca. 1254), is found in Ra, XI, 158, n. 263. Allsen's essay on him and his son Masqut, i.e. Mas'ūd Beg (d. 1289), is now available in ISK, 122-129, where the Chinese and Persian sources are listed on pp. 134-135. See also Cleaves 1977, 80-85, n. 53; *YSLT* 2:1983, 225-231; and CCME, 5, 198. For the term *yalavači*, *yalavač* 'envoy', cf. NHHO, 149; Poppe 1955, 42; TMEN, no. 1807. The SH says that they were Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan (*Qurumši oboqtan Sarta'ul*), i.e., Muslims of Khwārazmian stock. In the Persian sources Maḥmūd Yalavač is in fact called Maḥmūd (Yalavāč) Xvārazmī, i.e. the Khwārazmian, and the SH specifically mentions that both father and son came from Urgenč (Gurganj). On Qurumši (for Qurusmi) = Xvārazmī, the ethnicon of Xvārazm, see Pelliot 1938, 150; Cleaves 1949b, 433-435; idem 1953a, 242, n. 20.

'Father and son', lit. 'father and sons' (*ečige kö'üt qoyar*) – the plural here being a 'plural by attraction.' See Cleaves 1953a, 242, n. 21. Further on we also have once 'his sons' = 'his son'; this would simply be a repetition of the previous form.

AT[1], 117b, has *köbegün* (sing.) in both instances. See below for a different interpretation.

Sartaqtai gü'ün-neče, lit. 'From the Sartaqtai (= Sartaq) people.' For Sartaqtai and Sartaq (= Sarta'ul), cf. above, n. 182; Cleaves, op. cit., 241-242, n. 19.

'The laws and customs of the cities', lit. 'the customs and laws (*yosu dörö*) of the cities.' Cf. *törö yosun* id. further down. Cl, 203, inadvertently gives 'of the city.' For *törö ~ dörö*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244.

'Being adequately informed as to *these* customs', lit. 'being told so as to know (= being informed) in a way similar to the *actual* customs (i.e. how the customs [concerning the government of the cities] really are).' For this rather awkward sentence, cf. Cleaves 1964/65, 57, n. 35.

With regard to the cities enumerated in this section, the first three are Bukhara, Samarkand and Gurganj, already mentioned in the previous sections (§§ 257, 258). Udan for Odan (~ Odon ~ Udun < tu.) = Khotan in southwestern Sinkiang. See NMP, I, 408-425; Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 30; and Li, 184, n. 263. Kisqar is an erroneous reading for Kišqar = Kišγar < *Qašγar (< tu. Kašγar, Qašγar), i.e. Kashgar in western Sinkiang. AT[1], 118a, has 'Sisegei' for 'Kišγar' (the 'Kašγar' of ATL, 194, is an incorrect reading). Cf. Cleaves, op. cit., 243, n. 31. Uriyang is also an erroneous reading for *Yarqand or *Yarkend (< tu. Yarkänd), i.e. Yarkand in southwestern Sinkiang. Cf. ibid., n. 32; Cl, 204, n. 137. Güsen Daril: Güsen = Küsen = Küčä, i.e. Kucha in western central Sinkiang; Daril = Darim = Tarim, i.e. the Tarim River of Sinkiang. This rather puzzling compound place-name seems to be a general designation of the region of Kucha and the Tarim. Cf. Cleaves 1953a, 243-244, n. 33; and the reference in *CKSYCTT*, 1985.5, 4. With regard to these localities, Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand and Kucha were all towns formerly in the Qara Kitai kingdom usurped by the Naiman prince Küčlüg – the Güčülük of the SH, last mentioned in § 237. The whole area became subject to the Mongols after his death in 1218. See HWC, 68.

'He brought *back with him*', lit. 'bringing … he brought' (*abčiraǰu … abčirabai*).

'The city of J̌ungdu of the Kitat' is Chung-tu, i.e. Peking. See above, n. 247. It is worth noting that Maḥmūd Yalavač's appointment as chief administrator of North China is completely anachronistic; he was first appointed to this position in 1241, and there is no evidence that his son Mas'ūd was ever associated with him in the government of China. Mas'ūd began his career as an assistant of his father in Central Asia sometime after 1229, and in 1239 he took up the governor-generalship of Turkestan. After a period of exile in the West during Töregene's regency, he returned to power and was confirmed in office by Möngke in 1251, becoming 'the de facto head of the government of both East and West Turkestan, answerable only to the qa'an in Mongolia.' (ISK, 128.) He was, indeed, a virtual viceroy in Central Asia. According to A. Mostaert (u.n.), the plural in *-t* of *kö'üt* 'son' applied twice to Mas'ūd in the SH is due to his being a 'vice-roi', i.e. the plural form is a plural of respect, often used in Mongolian (as in the words *sayid*, *degedüs*, etc.). Cf. *Lettres*, 79. If so, we have further confirmation that this section is a later (editorial) interpolation in the original text. See below, n. 274.

§ **264**. 'Spent seven years' (*dolo'an hont yabuǰu*), lit. 'going seven years.' The years in question are 1219-1225. Cf. the beginning of § 257 where it is stated that Činggis set out against the Sarta'ul people in the Year of the Hare (1219). In the present section the narrative goes back to the time when Bala Noyan of the J̌alayir, having crossed the Indus (Šin) River, unsuccessfully pursued J̌alāl al-Dīn (1221-22). The SH account does not mention Dörbei Noyan in conjunction with Bala, and erroneously includes Qan Melik, i.e. Amīn al-Mulk. See above, § 257 and com. For the form *hont* 'years' for *hot*, cf. above, nn. 118 and 198, and below, nn. 272 and 280, regarding the word *qonint* for *qonit*, etc.

'As far as the middle of *the country of* the Hindus', i.e. as far as the middle of northern India – a statement to be taken

figuratively, since the Mongols did not go much further than Multan and Peshawar (Pešāvar) before turning back. See TDMI, 445-446; Boyle 1954, 406-409 (esp. pp. 408-409 with regard to § 264 of the SH). For the gelded billy-goats (*serkes*), cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5. In § 262, this word (in the plural) is used as the designation of the Circassians.

In J̌uvainī's work there is a chapter devoted to Činggis' homeward journey (HWC, Ch. XXIII, 138-141); cf. also SL^2, I/2, 229-230. Činggis had begun withdrawing his army from Afghanistan in the latter part of 1222, and the entire Mongol army, i.e. including J̌ebe and Sübe'etei's forces, gradually withdrew from Central Asia in 1223-1224. Činggis was again on the Irtysh in the summer of 1224, almost certainly in the same area where he had encamped in the summer of 1219. All our sources, except the SH, agree that he was back at his *ordos* of the Qara Tün ('Black Forest') on the Tūla in the spring of the following year (1225). Therefore, the word *namur* 'autumn' in the present section must be a clerical error for *qabur* 'spring', these two words being easily confused in Uighur-Mongol script. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 63-64, n. 138.

Činggis' 'Palaces (*ordos*) in the Black Forest by the Tūla' must be his principal encampment in the Sa'ari valley, the so-called Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er), in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tūla – a vast wooded area known as the Black Forest extending east of the great bend of the Tūla. See HCG, 260; and above, nn. 96 and 128. In NMP, I, 309, Pelliot refers to these *ordos*, stating that they were 'probably outside the south-eastern bend of that river (i.e. of the Tūla – I.R.).' Cf. also below, n. 271. For the expression *ordos-tur ba'u-* 's'installer (m. à m.: "descendre") dans les palais', see Mo, 261 and n. 249.

§ **265**. Chapter Twelve (= Sup. 2 續集卷二) of the SH begins with the account of Činggis' last campaign against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia. As described earlier (§§ 249, 250, 256), the Tangut court had at first submitted to the Mongols, but later, at the time

of the confrontation with Khwārazm (1218-19), the minister Aša Gambu had persuaded the Hsi Hsia ruler Shen-tsung ('Burqan') not to comply with Činggis' request for Tangut troops in the forthcoming campaign. Činggis did not take any punitive action then but pledged to deal with the matter on his return from Central Asia. He now proceeds to do so after a brief halt in Mongolia to plan the campaign and mobilize the troops. With regard to the date of the start of the expedition against Hsi Hsia, the sources are not in full agreement. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 64, n. 140. However, it can be established that the mobilization of troops began in the latter part of 1225, and that the actual attack on Hsi Hsia was launched in the spring of the following year. The SH is one year late in describing the sequence of these events. On this question, see NMP, I, 316. The best account of the Hsi Hsia campaign in English is found in Martin, 283-308. See also Martin 1942; OITG, 306-315; CHCAR, 210-214; and CHHC, 490ff.

'He counted his troops anew', lit. 'He newly counted his number (i.e. the number of effectives in his army).' Cf. above, § 191.

On Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text), see § 254.

'The many wild asses of Arbuqa.' Arbuqa was obviously an area rich in wild asses (*qulan* = *Equus hemionus*), the entire region being famous for its abundance of these quadrupeds, as confirmed by Marco Polo. See MP^3, 75. Cf. MP^2, I, 224, 225, n. 3. Although Arbuqa has not been identified, several scholars, including Grousset (see CW, 278) and, more recently, Pėrlėė^2, 10, have situated it in the Alashan Desert in southeastern Ninghsia. This localization goes back to Shin Shih-chieh who, in YSCK 12, 47b-48a, attempted to identify Arbuqa and Čo'orqat -- the place where Činggis halted after the fall from his horse – with two localities having similar names in the Ordos. In this he was rather uncritically followed by other Chinese scholars like Ting Ch'ien and Kao Pao-ch'üan. Cf. also N. Baturčiryal in MNTS, 460-486. However, these identifications

are arbitrary and unconvincing not only on linguistic and geographical grounds (see NMP, I, 316-317), but also for chronological reasons. If the accident occurred in the winter of 1225 and the invasion of Hsi Hsia took place in the spring of the following year, it is unlikely that Činggis was *already* as far south as the Alashan, i.e. in Tangut territory, in the winter as assumed by the above authors. On the other hand, the SH narrative definitely indicates that Činggis was 'on the way' to Hsi Hsia when he fell from his horse. I think, therefore, that Martin, 289, following F. Grenard (GKG, 173-174), is probably correct in stating that the accident occurred when the Mongol army had left the Tūla on the first stage of the expedition and had temporarily halted on the Ongin, almost certainly in November, to hunt the wild asses at Arbuqa. (Martin says 'November' following T'u Chi, this being the most likely month.) Thus, Činggis was at the time still in Mongolia, albeit well on his way to Hsi Hsia in the south and, no doubt on account of his serious injury, or injuries, the military operations were deferred to the spring while a diplomatic settlement with the Hsi Hsia ruler was sought to avert the hostilities without loss of face. The details of this embassy and of the Tanguts' negative response are found only in the SH.

J̌osotu Boro ('Reddish-Grey') was the name of Činggis' horse which bolted when the wild asses rushed past.

For *kö'üt* (pl. of *kö'ü*[*n*] 'son; prince') 'princes', see Kałużyński 1978, 124-125.

'His body', lit. 'his flesh' (*mariya-ban*). In this section we find *mariya ~ mara'a*. Cf. Cleaves 1982, 84, n. 46; DO, 465a; 'Quelques problèmes', 258 (4); and above, n. 197.

Čo'orqat, a plural of *čo'orqan* (= mo. *čoγoryan*), means 'The Locks.' Pelliot (NMP, I, 317), says: 'it may have applied figuratively to some strong position, and may actually refer to the same place as the *Qunčui Mountain of the *YS*.' According to Martin, 291, n. 17, the Hun-ch'ui Mts. 渾垂山 of YS[2] 1, 23, are most probably the Ch'i-lien Mts. 祁連山 south of Su-chou 肅州 in Kansu, whereas R. Dunnell is of the opinion that the

former – a mountain rather than mountains – 'was perhaps located north of Hexi [河西] between Edzina and Wulahai (see below and n. 267 – I.R.) rather than in the Qilian Mountains of southern Gansu' (Dunnell 1992, 226). (For Qunčui as a proper name, see Battulga 2000, 148-149.) In any event, the Hun-ch'ui Mt(s). of the YS seem to correspond to the Časutu ('Snowy') of the SH, §§ 266, 267, where Činggis 'escaped the summer heat' in 1226.

Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan was last mentioned in § 253 in connection with the Mongol operations in north-east China in 1213-1214. The Tanguts had already been referred to as a settled population living in permanent towns and thus unable to move. See above, § 249. Cf. also Belgütei Noyan's words in § 190 about the Naiman people being burdened with palatial tents and having to leave them behind when they fled.

For the words 'The Tang'ut people ... that would be fine', see Mo, 217-220, where the passage is discussed in detail. Cf. also Cleaves 1964/65, 54, n. 26; and Cl, 205, with regard to the reading *ebečin-i* 'the illness (acc.)' instead of the *elčin-i* 'the envoys (acc.)' of the text. 'Right here at Čo'orqat', is, literally, 'at this very Čo'orqat' (*mün ene Čo'orqat-ta*). Cf. Street 1990, 183. The passage is understood differently by Ozawa (Oz[1], VI, 397-398, n. 6; Oz[2], II, 212, 241, n. 3). Cf. also On, 157.

'He sent envoys to carry the following message', lit. 'Letting his voice (*da'u*, i.e. his verbal message) be carried by the envoys, he sent saying.'

'In the past.' For this usage of the word *nidoni*, see Mo, 41-42, n. 40; and *Lettres*, 24-25. Cf. above, n. 104. For the Hsi Hsia ruler's earlier promise to form with his troops the right wing of the Mongol army, see above, § 249. (When Činggis advanced southwards from Mongolia against the Jurchen kingdom, the Tanguts, being in the west, would naturally supply forces to his west, or right, wing.)

For the words 'because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal', see Mo, 209; Poppe 1964, 375. The 'proposal' (*eye*) in question was the request for reparations sent by Činggis

Qan to Muḥammad of Khwārazm after the Otrar incident in 1218. See TDMI, 399-400.

'Came out with mocking words', lit. 'came mocking with words.' See above, § 256, where the words in question – spoken by Aša Gambu not by Burqan – are reported.

'I brought them duly under submission', lit. 'I caused them to enter (= forced them) into the right (*or* into righteousness)', i.e. 'I overcame them and subjected them to Mongol rule' – this rule being the 'right' (*ǰük*) order of things sanctioned by Eternal Heaven, to which reference is made in the same passage.

'Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words', lit. 'Now I have come to Burqan to verify *his* word (i.e. to demand an explanation: *üge olulča-*).' Cf. Cleaves 1953, 96, n. 19.

'As for now', renders *edö'e ber bö'esü*. On this idiom see ibid., 73, n. 13.

'For I', lit. 'as for me' (*bi bürün*). For *bürün* 'as for', cf. above, n. 196.

In the interlinear version, Alašai is glossed as 'name of the Ho-lan Mountains.' The Ho-lan Mts. (i.e. the Holanshan or Helanshan 賀蘭山 of our maps) are the Alashan Mts., viz. the mountain range extending parallel to the Huang-ho due west of Ning-hsia, now Yin-ch'uan 銀川, then the capital of the Hsi Hsia state (its Chinese name at the time was actually Chung-hsing fu 中興府; the native Tangut name was Irqai or Irγai, from which derives the Mongolian form Eriqaya [= pmo. Eriγaya]; see above, nn. 150, 249, and below). Pelliot, following Palladiĭ, is of the opinion that the 'encampment in the Alašai' (*Alašai nuntuq*) of our passage corresponds to the 'Calacian' of Marco Polo, which can probably be identified with the 'temporary residence' built by Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 (Ching-tsung 景宗, r. 1038-48) in 1047 at the foot of the Ho-lan Mts., 60 *li* (= ca. 33.5 km) west of Ning-hsia. See NMP, I, 133, and the whole discussion, ibid., 132-137. On Ching-tsung see RC, 80 (C).

'I have tents of thin woollen cloth' renders the Mongolian *terme gertü*, lit. 'having *terme* tents.' For the term *terme* 'thin woollen cloth', see above, n. 184.

'Camels laden *with goods*', lit. 'camels' loads.' For the passage 'If you need … Eriǰe'ü', cf. Cleaves 1955, 29, n. 9. 'Eriqaya and Eriǰe'ü' – the two principal and richest cities of Hsi Hsia. As stated earlier, Eriqaya was the capital of the state (since ca. 1020) and corresponds to present-day Yin-ch'uan hsien. It is the 'Egrigaia' of Marco Polo. On it, see the important notice by Pelliot in NMP, II, 641-642; Cleaves 1967a, 96-99, n. 4; and, especially, Dunnell 1989 (also with regard to its Tangut name). Eriǰe'ü is the Mongolian form of *Erǰi'ü or *Erǰü, the Tangut name of Hsi-liang 西涼, present-day Wu-wei hsien 武威縣 in Kansu. It is the 'Ergiuul' of Marco Polo, on which see NMP, II, 646-647; OITG, 348a (Index). 'This is enough!' (*ǰe teli*). On this expression see above, nn. 242, 246.

'Let us challenge their boasts!', lit. 'let us go and press against *their* big words!'

'You be the judge!', lit. 'You decide *who is right*!'

'Until they were blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes': cf. § 112 for the same image, a recurrent one in the SH.

'The common Tang'uts', lit. 'such and such (*or* this kind and that kind of) Tang'uts (acc.)' (*eyimün teyimün Tang'udud-i*). Cf. the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 2, 7a): 'the rest of the (Tangut) people.' For somewhat differing interpretations of Činggis Qan's order, cf. Li, 128; Cleaves 1952, 119, n. 261; Oz^1, VI, 392, and Oz^2, II, 214; On, 158; Cl, 207. For an earlier example of the use of the verbs *ol-* 'to get booty (*olǰa*)' and *ab-* 'to take, seize (for oneself)', cf. § 187.

Činggis' draconian order had far-reaching consequences, as it was responsible for the large-scale slaughter of the Tangut population before and after his own death. With regard to the movements of the Mongol army, it should be noted that from the encampment on the Ongin, where Činggis presumably spent the winter of 1225-1226, the army moved across the western Gobi in the first (lunar) month (30 January-27 February) of

1226. The Mongols reached the Etsin Gol (Hei-shui 黑水, now the Jo-shui 弱水/E-chi-na ho 額濟納河) and captured the important Tangut outpost of Hei-shui ch'eng 黑水城 (see below) in the second month (28 February-30 March). Following the course of the Etsin Gol upstream, they reached Su-chou (present-day Chang-yeh hsien 張掖縣) and Kan-chou 甘州 (present-day Chiu-ch'üan hsien 酒泉縣), which they captured in the summer (May-June). Činggis Qan 'escaped the heat' by camping on the Hun-ch'ui Mt(s)., which seem to be the same as the Časutu Mt(s). of § 266 (see above, and below, nn. 266, 267.) The defeat and capture of Aša Gambu, not recorded in the Chinese sources, according to the SH occurred before the summer in the 'Alašai', where Činggis had forced him to 'barricade' himself in a stronghold on the Alashan/Ho-lan Mts. This is not plausible since before the summer Činggis was campaigning in the Etsin Gol-Kan-chou ho 甘州河 region and his army did not move into the Alašan until the end of the year. Cf. NMP, I, 309ff. With regard to Hei-shui ch'eng ('Black River City'), the Tangut name of which in Chinese transcription was I-chi-nai 亦集乃 (< ? *Izina/*Ezina > pmo. Isina) and which was known by the Mongols as Qara Qoto 'Black City', it is the 'Eçina' of Marco Polo. On it see MIA, Part III; NMP, II, 637-638; Cleaves 1949, 55, n. 154; idem 1955, 19, n. 13; NMKSC, 61-62 (*'fu-piao'*). Cf. also Dunnell 1992, 219ff.

§ **266**. As stated above (n. 265), the Časutu Mountain(s) mentioned in this and the following section (§ 267) is/are apparently the mountain(s) called Hun-ch'ui 渾垂 in the YS, and which is/are glossed in the interlinear translation as Hsüeh-shan 雪山, i.e. 'Snowy Mountain(s).' The situation of this mountainous area in the proximity of the town/stronghold of Uraqai (Wu-la-hai, see below, n. 267) has not been determined with any degree of certainty.

'He sent troops against the Tang'uts … .' In translating this passage I had to change the structure in English for the sake of readability. The text has 'Činggis Qa'an … sent troops and

caused them to plunder as planned until they utterly destroyed the Tang'uts … .' 'Were offering resistance', lit. 'had revolted.' 'As planned' (*onoqsa'ar*, conv. abt. of *ono-* 'to reckon, consider'), lit. 'by the reckoning.' I think that Ozawa's argument (Oz[1], VI, 410-412, n. 1), following El-Ar, 887, n. 3 (and before that Do[2], 203, n. 6!), against Mostaert's interpretation adopted by Cleaves (Cl, 207; cf. n. 15), myself (Ra, XII, 24) and others, is valid. Mostaert's rendering 'totally' or 'entirely' is based on an analogy with the use of the verb *toγola-* ~ *toγala-* 'to count, calculate, reckon' in the ET (see ET[3], 32v09 and 67r22), regarding which Mostaert writes (u.n.): '*toγolan* (*toγola-* = *toγala-*; cette dernière forme est celle que donnent mes mss.), m. à m. "comptant" = "l'un après l'autre, chacun."' Unfortunately, the sectional summary (Y[2] Sup. 2, 9a) is of no help since the word in question is left untranslated.

'As much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*', lit. 'until they judge by *their* strength (how much they can take and carry away with them).' Cf. above, § 248.

'The J̌üyin of the Kitat people' and, later, 'the Qara Kitat J̌üyin people' were the Kitan and other auxiliary forces in the service of the Jurchens. See above, n. 247.

'Make their fine sons follow you … Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange (*or* fix, repair) the hems of your wives' skirts', in other words, 'take possession of them and turn them into your servants.'

'Trusted friends' renders *itegelten ina'ut* (pl. of *inaq*). The word *inaq* (= mo. *inaγ*) means 'bosom friend, favourite, personal attendant.' See HW, 82; Les, 409b; TMEN, no. 668; Poppe 1955, 39; idem 1975, 166.

'Who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols' – a reference to the capture of Ambaqai Qan by the Tatar J̌üyin, who then delivered him to the Altan Qan of the Kitat, i.e. to the Jurchen sovereign, as narrated in the SH, § 53. Note, however, that in § 53 the 'J̌üyin people' in question are of Tatar, *not* Kitan, stock. In the present instance I have rendered *ebüges*

ečiges, lit. 'forefathers and fathers', as 'ancestors' in view of the fact that the 'Mongols' (*Mongqol*), i.e. the Mongol tribe is mentioned. Cf. Oz[1], VI, 413, n. 5; and above, n. 133.

§ **267**. Uraqai (ch. Wu-la-hai ~ Wu-lang-hai ~ Wo-lo-hai [兀剌海~ 兀郎海 ~ 斡羅海], i.e. Uraqai ~ Urangqai ~ Oroqai; for Uraqai ~ Urangqai, cf. Činqai ~ Čingqai, but I think that the form in *-ng-* is simply due to a phonetic resemblance to Uriyangqai), was a town in Inner Mongolia, north of the Huang-ho. It had been captured twice by the Mongols (in the raids of 1207 and 1209) and by all accounts it was one of the northernmost, if not the most northern, Tangut strongholds. See YS[2] 1, 14, and SWCCL[1], 57b (s.a. 1207). However, until recently scholars were at odds as to its exact location. For their differing opinions and discussions of the problem, cf. MWESC 3, 7a; NMP, I, 315; Martin, 359; Mu, III, 269, n. 12; Dunnell 1992, 223-224. Cf. also Cleaves 1954b, 440-441, n. 67; and Ra, XII, 49. n. 267. According to R. Dunnell, Uraqai 'was situated near the Yellow River bank, probably along the outer loop of its northwestern bend, since there is no mention elsewhere of crossing a river to reach it.' (Dunnell 1992, 228.) For her supporting argument, based in part on research by Chinese scholars, see ibid., 224-228; and the map, ibid., 220-221. From Uraqai Činggis proceeded to Dörmegei (the Mongol name of Ling-chou 靈州, present-day Ling-wu hsien 靈武縣 in Ninghsia), which fell in early December 1226. On its way to the south, the Mongol army would have followed the course of the Huang-ho upstream, as one would expect. We know that after the capture of the towns in the Etsin Gol-Kan-chou region (Hei-shui ch'eng, Su-chou, etc.) in the spring and early summer of 1226, Činggis spent some time 'escaping the heat' on Časutu before camping at Uraqai, and thence resumed the campaign moving southwards to Ling-chou (Dörmegei), which he besieged in late November. If Uraqai was north-west of the great bend of the Huang-ho and, as Dunnell surmises, Časutu (presumed to be the same as the Hun-ch'ui Mt[s].) was between Hei-shui ch'eng/Qara Qoto

and Uraqai, one may well ask why Činggis Qan, who was in ill health, would undertake such a long and painful journey (over 500 km) to the north-east to rest, unless he also had to subdue Uraqai before proceeding to Ling-chou. From the Etsin Gol Činggis could have gone directly to Ling-chou in the east, escaping the summer heat in the Ch'i-lien Mts. and following the very plausible itinerary proposed by Martin, 291-292. Moreover, the SH does not speak of a capture or destruction of Uraqai, but only of Činggis camping there. In view of this, Dunnell (p.c.) is of the opinion that if the identity of Hun-ch'ui and Časutu is correct and if this mountainous area was between Hei-shui ch'eng and Uraqai, 'the SH reference to Činggis Qan departing Časutu to go camp at Uraqai is out of place.' But this may not necessarily be so, since we know from Rašīd al-Dīn that Činggis Qan after capturing the cities of Kan-chou, Su-chou and Ho-chou (河州, presumably an error, for Ho-chou was not conquered until the following spring), also captured Uraqai, and besieged and burned Dörmegei, in that order. See SL^2, I/2, 231; cf. NMP, I, 315. This means that Činggis set up camp at Uraqai *after* having seized it, perhaps without much resistance on the part of the Tangut garrison. Hence, while the exact location of Časutu remains conjectural, it appears that it was a mountainous area situated west or north-west of the great bend of the Huang-ho. The only other possible candidates are the Lang-shan and Yin-shan ranges, the southern (or southwestern) portion of the former being the most likely area in my view. However, after considering all the data on this phase of the Hsi Hsia campaign in the Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources, and taking into account Pelliot's perceptive remarks (in NMP, I, 315-317), I cannot but feel that the proposed reconstructions are still too conjectural, and that Činggis' halt at Časutu remains highly problematic. Pelliot (op. cit., 317) concludes his excursus with the following comment: 'If I am right in supposing that the attack on Ling-chou ought to have been referred to before the mention of the summer resort at Časutu, it may well be that Časutu, in the present case, is but a Mongolian designation of

the Liu-p'an-shan (on which see below, n. 269 – I.R.).' To this we must add that the name Hsüeh-shan, 'Snowy Mountain(s)', was applied to several mountains in the Kan-chou region and that to this day the Ch'i-lien Mts. are still called by that name. A summer halt somewhere in these mountains before moving towards Ling-chou would make perfect sense both chronologically and geographically. We may have to re-examine the entire problem concerning the location of Uraqai in relation to Činggis' attack on Ling-chou, and seriously consider the possibility that Činggis attacked Uraqai *after* conquering Dörmegei; this event would then have taken place in December 1226 or early the following year. Cf. MWESC 3, 30b; Martin, 295-296.

The '(Iluqu) Burqan' who, according to the SH account, submitted to Činggis when Ling-chou was about to capitulate, was the newly enthroned Tangut ruler Li Hsien 李睍 (1226-27), on whom see RC, 83 (L). However, the SH account of the time and place of Li Hsien's submission is contradicted by the Chinese and Persian accounts of this event. See NMP, I, 310ff. Li Hsien almost certainly surrendered when his capital, Chung-hsing (see above, n. 265), was under Mongol siege and about to capitulate. This occurred in the summer of 1227, when the now fatally ill conqueror was again 'escaping the heat' south of Liu-p'an shan 六盤山. Thus, the last Hsi Hsia ruler (and his family) may have been executed either shortly before, or very soon after Činggis' death, which occurred towards the end, or in the second half, of August. In either case, the execution was carried out in accordance with his final instructions. I am convinced that the execution of the Tangut royal family, as well as the large-scale massacre of the civilian population that followed, excessive even by Mongol standards, were meant to provide Činggis with a suitable escort in the afterlife (see below). On the (doubtful) etymology of the name Dörmegei, see NMP, II, 642. Cf. Mo, 222.

The passage 'The city of Dörmegei … *outside the tent*' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 220-225. The following are a few additional remarks.

With regard to the word *süme* meaning 'image, figure, statue (of Buddha)', cf. also Kara 1990, 323, s.v. '*sime*'; Khomonov 1970, 37. 'Nine of each' (*yisün yisüt*), lit. 'nine and nine (pl.).' As noted earlier (see above, nn. 60, 99), the number nine had a symbolic value. On the subject, see also Li, 185, n. 267. To leave a guest bringing gifts outside the closed door and refuse to see him was, of course, the ultimate rejection.

'Felt revulsion within his heart', lit. 'the inside feelings revolted.'

Prior to having him executed by Tolun Čerbi, Činggis Qan gave the Tangut ruler the name or appellation of Šidurqu (= mo. Siduryu), the usual meaning of which is 'straight, honest, upright, sincere, loyal' (see Les., 698a; cf. DO, 632b). However, the verb *šidurqutqa-* (= mo. *siduryudya-*) 'to make right (*or* straight)' is used in the SH, §§ 202, 224, with the meaning of 'to bring to allegiance, subdue.' Cf. ch. *p'ing* 平, lit. 'to make even, to pacify' = 'to subdue, subjugate.' Cf. also § 265 above, where 'to force into righteousness' (*ǰük-tür oro'ul-*) = 'to force into submission.' Ligeti has inferred that the word *šidurqu* means here 'the one who has surrendered' (*or* 'the one who has been brought to allegiance'). See Li, 129; and Mostaert (u.n.): 'Šiduryu = (celui qui est maintenant) Droit (= subjugé) (tout en ne l'étant pas jusqu'ici).' Haenisch (Ha, 166, n. 267) has pointed out that this epithet characterizes the defeated enemy as the actual servant of the victor; and that it was given to the Tangut ruler in place of 'Burqan' (< Buddha). Haenisch claims that it would have been disrespectful to retain the latter, i.e. a name holy to Buddhists as well as to the Mongols (who used it as an attribute of their sacred mountain Burqan Qaldun), for an enemy about to be executed. This consideration may certainly have played a part; however, I think that the main reason for giving this name to the condemned sovereign has to do with the medieval Mongols' conception of the afterlife. According to their beliefs, the 'virtue' of an enemy of noble birth could, after his death, exercise a beneficial influence on the victor and his descendants. The former enemy, in other words, would become

a protective spirit or genius. See above, n. 201; cf. also n. 59. It is, I believe, to propitiate this spirit and invest it, as it were, with a name-quality of loyalty to his master that an appropriate designation was called for. The concept of 'surrender' is implicit in it, since the operation of the enemy's 'virtue' is based upon the continuous subservience to the victor after the enemy's death. For the sake of completeness, I should add that according to Pelliot [P.P.-M.G.], *šidurqu* in the present context does not mean 'upright', but 'superb.' For this appellation, cf. also CLC, 460ff.

For Tolun Čerbi's role at Čo'orqat after Činggis' fall and injury, see § 265.

'Seize and execute him *with his own hands*', lit. 'lay hands *on him* and cause *him* to die.' It is worth noting that in general, and by all accounts, Činggis Qan was unwilling to execute an enemy by his own hand and left this task to one of his lieutenants.

'When Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him (*büte'ebe*).' For *büte'e-* 'to kill', see above, n. 136.

'The poisoned words of an enemy', lit. 'at the poison word(s) of a "companion-person" (*nökör gü'ün*).' For 'companion' (*nökör*) = 'enemy', see above, n. 153. Cleaves' rendering (in Cleaves 1983, 42, n. 15) of the expression *nökör gü'un* in this section as 'comrade' is, therefore, inaccurate.

'Gave him into Our hands', lit. 'caused him to enter into Our hands.'

The 'movable palace' (*ne'ügü qarši*) refers to Li Hsien's royal pavilion. For *qarši* '(royal) palace' (< tu.), see TMEN, no. 1460; Poppe 1955, 40; ED, 664a.

For a notable event connected with the capture and sacking of Ling-chou, and involving Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, who was with the Mongol army at the time, see KIPMX, 71-72, 102, nn. 74-76; de Rachewiltz 1960, 232-233, n. 104; ISK, 146-147.

§ **268**. 'After he had exterminated ... maiming and taming', lit. 'Causing the mothers and fathers of the Tang'ut people reaching

to the offspring of the offspring to disappear *muquli musquli*.' The two words *muquli musquli* are puzzling. They clearly form a binome of the *sačuli öči'üli* (§ 103) and *bura tara* (§ 213) type (cf. eng. 'naming and shaming'), the meaning of which was no longer understood by the translators of the SH, who left a blank in both places where this expression occurs in the present section. The author(s) of the sectional summary rendered only the general meaning of the sentences in question (Y^2 Sup. 2, 13a: *mieh* 滅 'obliterated', and *chin chüeh-le* 盡絕了 'completely extinguished'). The AT is of no help as it merely distorts *muquli musquli* into *muqali müsküli* without providing any interlinear gloss (the value of which would, in any case, have been questionable). See AT^1, 125a; cf. LDAT, 238, 371, n. 79. There is little doubt, however, that these words are descriptive of the way in which the Tanguts were destroyed, as pointed out in Cl, 209, n. 21. Several conflicting interpretations have been put forth; I have discussed them at length in Ra, XII, 51-53, and expressed the view, which I still hold, that Damdinsürėn's interpretation of the two words appears to be the most likely one, i.e. that *muquli* is related (as a den. noun in *-li*; cf. GWM, 47, § 162) to **muqu-* (= mo. *moqo-*) 'to be blunt or dull; to be exhausted or powerless, to come to the end of one's resources, etc.' Cf. Les., 544a; MED, 215b; and SH *muqutqa-* 'to destroy, bring to an end' (fact. of *muqut-* 'to be finished, come to an end', see HW, 111; for **muqu- ~ muqut-*, cf. SH *öyisüle- ~ öyisület-*, *üderi- ~ üderit-*, see HW, 130, 158). Cf. also Boodberg 1939, 231-232, for some interesting asides. As for *musquli*, Damdinsürėn makes it derive (also as a den. noun in *-li*) from **musqu-* (= mo. *muski-*, *muški-*) 'to turn, twist; to coerce, put pressure on; to hold down, subdue.' Cf. Les., 552b; MED, 221b; and yak. *muskuį-* 'to turn, twist; to break, distort, wear out, etc.' (SYY, 1641; YRS, 246a). See Da^1, 265; Da^5, 227. Cf. also Oz^1, VI, 427-428, n. 2; Ev-Pop, 308, n. 15. Thus, the expression *muquli musquli* would mean 'blunting and twisting', i.e. 'maiming and coercing.' To retain some of the

homophonic quality of the original, I have rendered it with 'maiming and taming' and 'maimed and tamed.'

'For the second time', the first time being, according to the SH account of events, the one described in § 249 – in actual fact the 1209 campaign. See above n. 249.

'Činggis Qa'an came back and, in the Year of the Pig (1227), ascended to Heaven.' As is known Činggis Qan did not return to Mongolia, but died at Liu-p'an shan in Ninghsia some time in the latter part of August 1227, possibly as a result of the internal injuries caused by the fall from his horse and the strain of the military operations. His body was taken to Mongolia and buried on Mount Burqan Qaldun, at the sources of the Onon and Kerulen rivers (see below). The mention in the SH of his return (*ireǰü*) was, presumably, to enhance his figure by making him return home as a victor, for we know that the war against Hsi Hsia was far from concluded at the time of his death. However, Pelliot (NMP, I, 326) links *ireǰü* with *nökö'ete* and understands that 'Chingiz "came" for a "second" campaign against Tangut.' Pelliot's interpretation, adopted also by Ligeti (Li, 129), is contradicted by 1) the Chinese sectional summary which says (Y^2 Sup. 2, 13a) 至是回來 'thereupon he returned *home*', and 2) by the verb *muqutqaǰu*, lit. 'destroying', which precedes *ireǰü*, i.e. Činggis Qan 'campaigning a second time … destroying … coming back … ascended to Heaven.' See Cl, 209. His return home is immediately followed by the mention of his death, which is referred to as ascending to Heaven (*tenggeri-tür qarba*). Pelliot, op. cit., 305, has suggested that this may be due to the subject of his death being regarded as taboo by the Mongols. This is not necessarily so. As J.-P. Roux has pointed out, among the ancient Turks there was a belief that the souls or, at any rate, one of the souls of their heroic chiefs flew to Heaven at death. In the Orkhon inscriptions, the expressions 'to go flying' and 'fly' – i.e. to Heaven – mean 'to pass away' when used with reference to the death of a *qaγan* or a prince of the blood. See MCPA, 99ff.; Tryjarski 1981, 157; GOT, 266. (For *qar-* [= mo. *γar-*] 'to ascend', see Cleaves 1996, 8, n. 45). This

belief, like many others, was shared by the ancient and medieval Mongols, and it would especially have applied to an exalted personage like Činggis Qan. The author(s) of the SH would then have employed the expression 'he ascended to Heaven' much in the same way as, *mutatis mutandis*, a Christian medieval author like Paul the Deacon would say 'ad regna caelestia migravit.' In other words, it was a euphemistic conventional expression. In the SH we find that the death of Činggis Qan is referred to both indirectly, i.e., metaphorically, and directly. See Yisüi Qatun's words in § 254: 'When your body, like a great old tree,/Will fall down .../When your body, like the stone base of a pillar/Will collapse ...'; and Činggis' own words in the same section: 'I forgot,/As if I would not follow the forefathers;/I slept,/As if I would not be caught by death (*üküleng*).' On these issues see also Ratchnevsky 1970, 422 and n. 266; IBŠ, 245; Pürėvžav & Baasanbam 1996, 157-158; and Kaszuba 1996.

The cause – direct or indirect – of Činggis' death, viz. the fall from his horse, is inferred solely from the SH, §§ 265 and 267, for the Chinese and Persian sources speak only in general terms of a 'disease' which, according to J̌uvainī, arose 'from the insalubrity of the climate' (HWC, 180). Other sources give different causes (a fever, an arrow wound in the knee), and colourful folklore motifs (such as an unusual sexual injury caused by the Tangut queen) are found in the later epic accounts. See Wright 1997, 428-432. Modern scholars, like Haenisch, have suggested typhus (see below, n. 272), but the real cause of Činggis' death is unknown, and was certainly unknown also to most people at the time (except, of course, to the *qan*'s 'inner circle') judging by the conflicting reports of our sources. On the subject, see Haenisch 1933, 548; NMP, I, 328-329; ČK[1], 126-127 (= ČK[2], 141-142). According to Pelliot (op. cit., 329), 'The most likely cause of the death of Chinghiz-khan is the one given thirteen years (the present author would say "one year" – I.R.) later by the *Secret History*, a serious fall from his horse J̌osotu-boro.'

On the complex question of the date and place of his death, and of the location of his grave, see the fundamental discussion by Pelliot, op. cit., 305-363. Although the exact day of Činggis' demise cannot be determined with certainty, it occurred beyond doubt in the second half of August 1227.

On the place of death there is little doubt. Činggis died in the camp that he had pitched at Liu-p'an shan 六盤山 ('Liu-p'an Mountain'), the Luuban Qan (= Mountain) of AT[1], 125a, in southern Ninghsia, where he had moved in June-July 1227 'to escape the (summer) heat', and which had become his military headquarters. The remains of a 'palace' dating from the Yüan period were found in 1993 by Chinese archaeologists at K'ai-ch'eng 開城 (35° 50 N 106° 14 E) just south of Ku-yüan 固原, in the area of the Ch'ing-shui River 清水河 where we know Činggis' temporary residence was situated. The archaeologists unearthed a large number of glazed porcelain wares, including vases, bottles, bowls and dishes; ceremonial bronzes, as well as construction materials such as roof- and other tiles. This may well be the site in question. See the report and map of the area on page 6 of the *Kuang-ming jih-pao* 光明日報 of 1 August 1993.

In his meticulous study, Pelliot (op. cit., 329-353) has shown that Činggis was not buried in north China, but that his body was carried to his native land and buried on Mount Burqan Qaldun, i.e. on Khentei Khan (Xėntiĭ Xan; see above, n. 1), where several of his successors were also subsequently interred. For the research carried out on the identification of the imperial burial ground since the publication of Pelliot's investigation (1959) and of J. Schubert's RBC in 1963 (the relevant section is on pp. 84-99), see ČXĖBN; and de Rachewiltz 1998. On the basis of all available evidence and personal inspection, I think one can reasonably assume that the burial ground is situated on the southern and southeastern shoulder of Khentei Khan, and that it is so far untouched; this can only be ascertained, however, by a scientific investigation *in situ*. (Unfortunately, the ruins of what was almost certainly the temple built by Kammala at the foot of the mountain [see Pelliot, op. cit., 338] have been

abusively and seriously tampered with in the late 1990s and early 2000s according to the latest [July 2002] travellers' reports.) For further literature on the subject in Chinese, see CHLYCWC; and CYW, 825-878, 909-910. (In July-August 2001, a joint Mongolian-American expedition led by Dr. D. Bazargur of the Institute of Geography of the Academy of Sciences of Mongolia, and Mr M. Kravitz of Chicago, which had carried out an archaeological investigation in Xėntiĭ Aĭmag in 2000 and 2001, claimed to have located the burial ground of the Mongolian royalty and nobility at Öglögčiĭn Xėrėm near Mount Binder [Binder Uul at 48° 35 N 110° 36 E], which may have also included Činggis Qan's grave. See the 'Mongolia On Line' [*www.mol.mn*] News of 31 July and 14 August 2001. The site is well known – it was first described in 1926 – and suggestions that Činggis' tomb may be situated there were already put forth in 1994. See MNDTSD, 182; GG, II, 29. However, all indications point to a pre-13th century, possibly Liao, site. Cf. GG, II, 8. In any event, the joint expedition came to an abrupt end in August 2002 without having announced any significant discovery. See *The Email Daily News*, No. 177 [1506] of Wednesday 11 September 2002 for further details, and above, n. 70, for the site of the investigation.) As for Činggis Qan's mausoleum (the so-called 'Eight White Tents': Naiman Čaγan Ger) at Ejen Qoroγa in the Ordos, there is a vast literature in various languages. Besides Pelliot's remarks (op. cit., 343ff.) and the articles cited in the above two Chinese collections, see de Rachewiltz 1994, 363-364; Chiodo 1997/98; idem 1999/2000 (and the literature cited therein); Andrews 1999; CLYE; and, especially, ČQNČO and ČQNČOBO. However, both the history of the sanctuary and the cult of Činggis Qan connected with it (and with other sanctuaries in Inner Mongolia) are beyond the scope of the present investigation.

As to Činggis' age at the time, *if* he was born in 1162, as seems probable (see above, n. 104), he must have been sixty-five. His age in YS^2 1, 25, is given as sixty-six, Chinese

reckoning. Cf. the SWCCL[1], 79a, where s.a. 1226, his age is given as sixty-five, thus essentially agreeing with that of the YS.

In the AT[1], 125a-b, a fairly long poetic piece is declaimed by Činggis Qan just before he died. See LDAT, 238-240. This epic passage, a later addition to the Činggis Qan saga which also occurs (with some variants) in other chronicles, has been arbitrarily inserted in Da[1], 266-269 (cf. Da[5], 227-229). The passage in question has been the subject of a detailed philological and comparative study by S. Ozawa. See Oz[1], V, 487-537. (For other epic motifs associated with Činggis' campaign against Hsi Hsia, see Heissig 1985.) In sharp contrast to the greatly elaborated accounts of Činggis' death we find in the later Mongol sources, the news of his passing in the present section of the SH is recorded without any embellishment and, indeed quite abruptly, within the context of a rather disappointing narrative concerning the war against Hsi Hsia. In Li, 185, n. 268, Ligeti draws attention to the substantial discrepancy between the SH account of Činggis' last campaign and the other sources, especially Rašīd al-Dīn's work. It should again be emphasized that the SH gives only a very brief sketch of the campaign, totally ignoring most of the military operations carried out by Činggis Qan and the Mongol army in 1226-1227. This is due either to later editorial work, or, as I am more inclined to believe, to the author(s) of the SH, who preferred to cut a narrative that would have otherwise inevitably led him (or them) to mention the conqueror's demise *in the course of the campaign* – an event which he (or they) evidently wanted to gloss over, not (in my opinion) because the subject was taboo, but because it may indicate that Heaven's 'protection' (*ihe'el*) had been withdrawn, at least insofar as the life of Činggis Qan was concerned.

'A great part of the Tang'ut people was given (lit. "one gave") to Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text)', i.e. as slaves. Yisüi was the wife Činggis had taken with him on his last campaign and the one who looked after him in his final illness. Her reward was commensurate to the favour she had been shown by

her defunct lord. For the distribution of the conquered peoples and their land to the Mongol princes and princesses, and Yisüi's apanage, see Jackson 1999, 19; cf. Franke H 2002, 228-229. On the presence of a 'Tangut' clan among the Ordos Mongols in the 20th century which may originate from the Hsi Hsia slaves granted to Yisüi Qatun, see *Ordosica*, 25, 45, nos. 161, 162. Mostaert's rendering (op. cit., 45) of *maši ökbe* with 'on donna une grande partie' is preferable to Cl, 209: 'one gave exceedingly.'

§ **269**. Although the *qurilta*, or general assembly, that elected Ögödei was convoked in 1228, Ögödei was not actually 'raised' (*ergübei*) as the supreme ruler and successor of Činggis Qan until the following year (13 September 1229), which was a Year of the Ox. See below. His election is vividly described by both J̌uvainī (HWC, 183-188) and Rašīd al-Dīn (*Successors*, 30-31). The Chinese sources also refer to the division within the assembly between the supporters of Ča'adai – the eldest son of Činggis after the premature death of J̌oči in 1227 – those of Tolui, the youngest son, now acting as regent of the empire, and those of Ögödei, who, as we have seen (§ 255), had been chosen by Činggis himself as his successor to the throne. The Chinese sources emphasize the role of Činggis' former scribe-secretary and astronomer-astrologer Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in persuading the assembly to carry out Činggis' will. See de Rachewiltz in ISK, 148. Cf. TDMI, 463. The whole issue of Ögödei's election is a very complex one, bound up as it is with Mongol inheritance customs, Činggis' (? written) will, and the thorny question of rivalry between the family of Ögödei and that of Tolui (on which cf. above, nn. 254 and 255). See, provisionally, Li, 212; Yao TW 1964 (esp. pp. 18-27); and Mu, III, 291-293, n. 1. J̌oči's son and heir Batu (d. ? 1255) is mentioned here for the first time. On him, see NMP, I, 88-89; NHHO, 28-29; DGH, 10-32; Boyle 1970a; and Bese 1974, 92. On J̌oči Qasar's sons Yegü and Yisüngge, see above, § 183. As is known, the domains (*ulus*) of J̌oči (and, subsequently, Batu) and Ča'adai

were in the west (the Qïpčaq Steppe and Central Asia); that is why they are called here 'the princes of the right (= west) hand', the 'right hand' corresponding to the west wing of the army in the military organization of the Mongols. Otčigin Noyan, i.e. Temüge Otčigin (Činggis' younger brother), had his domain in northeastern Mongolia, near the border with Manchuria (see HCG, 178, and above, n. 257; and also in the north-east, in the basin of the Argun, was the apanage of J̌oči Qasar. See de Rachewiltz 1976, 491ff. (cf. above, n. 183). Hence the definition of 'princes of the left (= east) hand' applied to Otčigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge. (For *kö'üt* 'princes', see above, n. 265.) Tolui, being the youngest son and 'keeper of the hearth', retained the Mongolian homeland, and was therefore a 'prince of the centre' – the 'centre' (*qol*) corresponding in military terms to the main body of the army (see below). Cf. TMEN, no. 307; TQUEMC, 28ff., 36.

'All assembled in full force', lit. 'assembled in *their* entirety, being (= as) a whole.'

For Köde'ü Aral (written Ködö'e Aral in § 136 and Ködë'e Aral in § 282), see above, n. 136. 'On the Kelüren', lit. 'of the Kelüren.' In the SWCCL[1], 79b, there is an entry to the effect that, in the autumn of the year *wu-tzu* (1228), emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 (= Ögödei) returned from Hu-pa 虎八, i.e. from his *ulus*/domain on the Qobaq (Qobuk) and Emil (Imil) rivers in Central Asia (see below), and held an assembly – the *qurilta* – at the great *ordos* (太宮) of the former emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 (= Činggis Qan), i.e. at Köde'e Aral on the Kerulen. In 1228, autumn began on 12 August and ended on 7 November. The CS 115, 2523, confirms Ögödei's presence on the Kerulen at the time, for an embassy from the Chin court was sent to him there in October and did not return to China until December 1228-January 1229. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1993/94, 4.

'They installed Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*.' The term used for 'installed (= elected)' is, literally, 'raised, lifted up' (*ergübei*), which derives from the ancient Altaic custom of enthroning the elected *qan* by actually lifting him up on a felt carpet. See

Boodberg 1939, 245. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 528-529; MF, 21ff.; HCSL, 223, 274 n., 275 and n.; and de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-252, n. 116.

With regard to the two titles *qan* and *qa'an* assumed by Ögödei, cf. the statement of J̌uvainī (HWC, 187) that at the enthronement ceremony, 'Ulugh-Noyan', i.e. Tolui, took a cup and all those present 'uttered prayers, saying, "May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!"... And they named him Qa'an.' Rašīd al-Dīn follows J̌uvainī almost verbatim. See *Successors*, 31. Ögödei 1) was elected *qan*, i.e. ruler of all the Mongols, and 2) was given at the same time, according to J̌uvainī, the name (or epithet) Qa'an, which is actually the old Turkic title of the supreme ruler. J̌uvainī was writing a generation later, when Ögödei was normally referred to as 'the Qa'an', i.e. the Qa'an *par excellence*, Ögödei having been the first Mongol *qan* to use this title. Cf. NMP, I, 302; and de Rachewiltz in *RSO* 64:1990, 428. In my opinion, 'the Qa'an' had almost certainly become the current appellation of Ögödei during his lifetime. Cf. the use of the single epithet in § 272. The additional Turkic title of *qaɣan* (= mmo. *qa'an*; pmo. and mo. *qaɣan*) was probably conferred on Ögödei in 1229 because the Mongol tribal chief or leader (*qan*) was now the supreme ruler of a vast empire besides Mongolia – an empire in which the élite was largely, if not predominantly, Turkic-speaking. Turkic was also the language of the Nestorian Christians and of the Uighur advisers and dignitaries at court; indeed, it was the *lingua franca* in Inner Asia at the time, more so than Persian which superseded it during the Yüan period. See Huang S 1986. It is no surprise therefore that the Mongols, having adopted by then (ca. 1230) many cultural elements from the Turks (especially the Uighurs), including their script, also adopted their royal title, this title now being more appropriate to the ruler of a world-empire than the essentially tribal title of *qan* borne by Činggis. On the whole question, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 272-277; and idem 1983a, 292, 308, n. 76 (where, however, my statement concerning the Persian language must be revised in the light of Huang Shijian's

contribution). Although some scholars still claim that the title *qa'an* was only given posthumously to the early Mongol *qan*s (cf. Boyle 1956, 152; SDM, 474-475, n. 4), their claim is contradicted by the overwhelming evidence from legends on coins and other inscriptions. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 278, n. 8; CCME, 18-19; and the 1257 inscription in honour of Möngke (r. 1251-59), where the emperor's name is followed by the title *qaγan*, showing beyond doubt that Möngke was called *qaγan*, i.e. *qa'an*, in his lifetime. See Poppe 1961a, 14, 17 (1).

'Precious life', lit. 'golden life' (*altan amin*). The attribute 'golden' as usual applies to the person of the *qan*.

'The ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on (lit. "who had been acting [= performing their duties] close to") the person of my father the Qan.' This sentence is very puzzling because of the words 'of my father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yin minu*), instead of which one would expect 'of their (i.e. Ča'adai's and Tolui's) father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yü'en* or *qan ečige-yin anu*), or 'of his (i.e. Ögödei's) father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yin inu*). In view of the closeness in sound between *inu* and *minu*, it is possible that the latter is simply a scribal error. Cleaves is of this opinion. See Cl, 209, n. 24. On the other hand, Ratchnevsky may be right in supposing that *minu* is the correct original reading (especially in view of the fact that the interlinear gloss renders it as 'my'), and that the word betrays the hand of the author of the SH. It is indeed plausible to infer, assuming that *minu* is not an error, that the author was a person who regarded Činggis Qan as his father, as, e.g., Šigi Qutuqu did, and that he (inadvertently ?) referred to him in this way in the present passage. This would then be an argument supporting the theory that Šigi Qutuqu was the author of the SH or that he had something to do with its composition. See Ratchnevsky 1965, 119-120; ISK, 92-93. At present it is impossible to give a satisfactory answer to this problem, but on purely stylistic grounds I am inclined to the view that the original text had *minu* and not *inu*. Cf. Li, 206-208; Oz[1], VI, 430; Oz[2], II, 217; On, 161

and n. 362; Ev-Pop, 235. See also Section Three of the Introduction.

'The domain of the centre' (*qol-un ulus*), i.e. the people and territory belonging to the central portion of the empire, this being the native territory in Mongolia proper. In terms of Mongol military organization, this corresponded to the 'army of the centre' (*qol čerik*), i.e. to the main army. As we have seen, the heart of this domain was traditionally situated in the region of the Onon and Kerulen (in the SH: Onan and Kelüren) rivers, where Činggis had his principal encampments or *ordos*, but already in Činggis' time the center of gravity had begun to shift to the region of the Orkhon (Orqon) basin further west, in the former Naiman territory, where a new important encampment was established which, under Ögödei, became the capital of the Mongol empire. It is likely, as Pelliot has suggested, that Činggis had first made Qara Qorum his *oγruγ* (SH: *a'uruq*; see above, n. 136), i.e. his main base camp, at the time of the Western Campaign, ca. 1220. This became increasingly important until it was walled in 1235 by Ögödei and turned into a permanent settlement and imperial residence, with palaces, temples, etc. See NMP, I, 166-167, and below, n. 273. It seems that Qara Qorum acquired importance for the Mongols only after 1218, for there is indirect evidence that the large encampment where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai first met Činggis Qan in 1218, and which could only have been Činggis' *ordos*, was the one in the Sa'ari Steppe, not the one in Qara Qorum. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 45-46, n. 47. Ögödei's *ulus* was not in Mongolia proper, but in the region of the Emil and Qobuk rivers, and in the basin of the upper Irtysh (see TDMI, 393) – hence the 'handing over' to him of the central *ulus* at the time of his enthronement. Regarding the handing over to Ögödei of Činggis' bodyguard, see T. Allsen in CHCAR, 367 and n. 55.

§ **270**. 'The transfer of … to himself', lit. 'making … to be for himself.'

The expedition of Oqotur and Mönggetü at the head of the auxiliary forces of Čormaqan Qorči's army is the one that took place in 1236, and not immediately after Ögödei's enthronement in 1229 as the SH leads one to believe. According to the Persian sources, Mönggetü (not 'Mönggetei' as in Boyle 1963, 242) was put in charge of two myriarchies (*tümen*) in the Baghlan-Kunduz-Badakhshan area on the frontiers of India; then, on his death, the command passed to Oqotur (called Hoqatur [? Hoqotur] by Rašīd al-Dīn). See Boyle, loc. cit.; *Successors*, 55 and n. 216; Aubin J 1969, 71-72, 79; and above, n. 262. On Čormaqan himself and his expedition to the West in 1230/31, see above, n. 260, and below, n. 274. On the Qalibai Soltan, i.e. the sultan (= caliph) of Baghdad, see also n. 260. The SH account has confused the earlier expedition of Čormaqan against J̌alāl al-Dīn with the later (1238) attack on Baghdad (on which see § 274) and the Mongol expedition against northern India, which took place at about the same time.

'A people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'of a people left unfinished (*dorqut*) of (= by) his father Činggis Qa'an.' The word *dorqut* is a plural of *dorqun* (= mo. *doryun*) 'lacking, incomplete, insufficient.' See Les., 262b.

The beginning of the account of Ögödei's campaign against western Asia and Europe (1236-42) is somewhat ambiguous. The Mongol princes (Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke) are sent, according to the SH, 'in support' of the army of Sübe'etei Ba'atur who, earlier on (*urida*) had run into difficulties during his campaign in the West. In § 262, the SH had mentioned Sübe'etei's campaign against the eleven tribes (Qanglin, Kibča'ut, etc.) in the north, his crossing of the rivers Idil (Volga) and J̌ayaq (Ural) 'rich in water' (*usutan*), and his reaching the city of Menkermen (Kiev). The same places and phraseology are repeated, with regard to Sübe'etei's campaign, in the present section, showing that the 'earlier on' to which the latter refers is clearly the campaign mentioned in § 262. As already noted, § 262 refers to the great Mongol raid of 1221-1222/23 (the one led by J̌ebe and Sübe'etei), which is however confused in the

SH with the great expedition of 1236-1242, as some of the place-names indicate. When Ögödei's Western Campaign was launched in the spring of 1236 (on this date, see Pelliot 1920, 166-167), Sübe'etei was indeed the senior commander of the Mongol army. The SH statement that he had been put in a difficult situation (*berkeldüktejü*) earlier on may well refer to the few reverses and the human loss suffered by the Mongols, during the 1221-1222 raid, in their engagements with the Georgians, with the coalition of the Lesghians, Circassians, Alans and Qïpčaqs, and, lastly, with the Volga Bulgars on their way back. See Dulaurier 1858/60, 200, 203 (1858), 278-279 (1860); HNA, 295; EM, 517; KR, 238; Zimonyi 1985. On the other hand, it is more likely that the memory of these earlier reverses coalesced with that of the rebellion of the Qïqčaq leaders Bayan and Čïqu in 1237, the dispatch of Sübe'etei to subdue them and the subsequent manoeuvre of the Mongol princes culminating in the capture of Bačman. In Rašīd's account of these operations in 'the country of Ās (= Alans – I.R.) and the region of Bulghar', it is specifically mentioned that Sübe'etei was sent there 'for the second time' (*Successors*, 57; cf. HWC, 269). On Ögödei's accession, a major problem confronting the Mongol court was the fact that after the early daring but ephemeral raid of J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, the various populations inhabiting the vast area forming the *ulus* of J̌oči (and, later, of his son Batu) had failed to submit to Mongol suzerainty, relying on their distance from Mongolia and the size of their territory. It was chiefly this political consideration that prompted the expedition of 1236, as we indeed learn from J̌uvainī. See HWC, 199; and Allsen 1983a, 14-20. The section in § 270 dealing with the names of the peoples against whom Sübe'etei had been campaigning (cf. §§ 262 and 274) has been discussed by Pelliot in NHHO, 128ff. The name Meket (Meget in §§ 274 and 275) appears here for the first time. Pelliot, op. cit., 129, n. 6, reversing an earlier correct assumption, stated that 'le contexte suggère qu'il s'agisse de Moscou.' However, V. Minorsky has conclusively shown, in my opinion, that it must be

the Alan capital Magas in the Caucasus, destroyed by the Mongols in 1239. See Minorsky 1952; Allsen 1987/91, 19-20. Cf. Pelliot's reservations in NMP, I, 19; and the long discussion by T. Kobayashi (GHK, 178-187) in which the problem of the identification of Meket is examined in relation to the date of composition of the SH. For the identification of Menkermen Keyibe (= Kiwa Menkermen; in our passage Meket is erroneously joined to the Men of Menkermen), Adil (for Edil or Idil) and J̌ayaq, see above, n. 262. In our passage we also find Asut, as in §§ 262, 274; Sesüt, as in § 274 (§ 262: Sasut); Maǰar, in the singular (instead of Maǰarat, as in § 262); Sergesüt (§ 262: Serkesüt); and Buqar, an orthographic error for Bolar. For all these names, see also above, n. 262, and below, n. 274. Cf. also Li, 186, n. 270.

With regard to the princes who were sent into the field, the SH mentions Batu, the second son of J̌oči; Büri, the eldest son of Mö'etüken, second son of Ča'adai; Güyük, the eldest son of Ögödei; and Möngge (= Möngke), the eldest son of Tolui. Of these four, Batu was not the eldest son (Orda was J̌oči's eldest son); however, being J̌oči's heir and successor, Batu was regarded as the senior of all Činggis Qan's grandsons after the latter's death (see *Successors*, 107), hence his appointment as leader of all the princes participating in the campaign according to the SH. Cf. DGH, 16. On Orda, see Pelliot's remarks in NHHO, 29-34. As to Büri, a grandson of Ča'adai, see below. Güyük and Möngke are mentioned here for the first time. On Güyük (1206-48), the third Mongol emperor (r. 1246-48), see *Chapitre CVII*, 85-89; NMP, I, 570. On Möngke (1208-59), the fourth emperor (r. 1251-59), see *Chapitre CVII*, 107-110; Cleaves 1949b, 423. Cf. RC, 102 (D) and 103 (E); YShi, 66-67. On the roles of these princes during the campaign, see *Successors*, 55ff.

'Princes in charge of a domain', i.e. possessing an apanage consisting of land and people (*ulus*). Cf. Ratchnevsky 1966a, n. 70; Jackson 1999, 15-16.

'Any commoners, whoever they might be', lit. '*and* the many *common* people, whoever they may be' (*olon gü'ün ken ber bö'esü*). This sentence is somewhat ambiguous and could be interpreted differently. See Mostaert's remarks *apud* Cl, 210, n. 33; Oz[1], VI, 441-443, n. 5.

'This principle (*yosun*) ... originates from elder brother Ča'adai', lit. 'This principle ... is from elder brother Ča'adai.' For *yosun* 'principle, norm' v. *ǰasaγ* 'law', cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473.

'Büri, the eldest of my sons', is, strictly speaking, an incorrect statement, for Büri was the eldest grandson of Ča'adai. However, the term *kö'üt* must be understood here *sensu lato*.

'Looking superior and mighty', lit. 'with a superior and mighty appearance (*čirai*).'

'Swords' (*mese*[*s*]). *Mese* (pl. *meses*) can mean 'any (edged) weapon' and 'sword.' See Kow., 2006b; Les., 537b; DO, 463b. I prefer the latter meaning in the present context. Cf. Oz[1], VI, 438, and Oz[2], II, 219.

The pronouncement of Ča'adai is a good illustration (and probably meant to be so) of the 'zeal and strength', i.e. of the legalistic approach and forcefulness to which Činggis' second son largely owed his reputation. It is to be noted that Ögödei accepted his decisions as final and binding. Cf. also § 271.

§ 271. Introduction to the launching of the final campaign against Chin, indicating that it was again Ča'adai who sanctioned Ögödei's proposal to proceed with it, a fact which is not mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources.

'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Činggis Qa'an', i.e. 'By assuming the imperial dignity, I have inherited a ready-made situation (*belen*) which I owe to my father and not to my own ability.' See 'Trois documents', 457, n. 43; *Lettres*, 63-64; Cleaves 1953, 66, n. 5.

'Will *people not* say of me?', lit. 'Will it be said *of me*?' See Mo, 238, n. 221.

'What obstacles are there?', lit. 'What hinders *it*?' On the expression *ya'u alǰaqu*, cf. Cleaves 1959, 88, n. 318.

The Oldaqar Qorči of the SH is no doubt the same person called 'Olduqur Noyan' (Oldūqūr Nōyān) in *Successors*, 312. According to Rašīd he was a J̌alayir. Elsewhere, Rašīd calls him Aūldūr (~ Ūldūr) Qōrčī and refers to him as the commander of the four (great) *ordos*. See SL[2], I/2, 267; cf. also SL[1], 15 (1888), 133. In view of this statement, it would appear that the term *a'uruq* (see above, nn. 136, 269), as employed here by Ča'adai, refers to the four great *ordos* established by Činggis Qan, i.e. his main encampment and those of his wives situated in the Sa'ari Steppe and the Onon-Kerulen region that were inherited by Ögödei and to which the latter repaired at the beginning of 1233. See NMP, I, 328, 350. The names of the *ordos* and of Činggis' wives in charge of them are given in AT[1], 129a. See LDAT, 244. (For the Qara Qorum *a'uruq*, cf. Pelliot, op. cit., 166-167; and above, n. 269.) This is the only reference in the SH to the 'great *ordos*' (*yekes ordos*) as such. On Ögödei's return to Mongolia in 1232-1233, see below, nn. 272 and 273. The last sentence of § 271 properly belongs to § 272.

§ 272. Ögödei decided to launch the final campaign against the Chin kingdom immediately after his enthronement in the autumn of 1229. After the failure of diplomatic moves on the part of the Chin court, Mongol military operations in north China began in earnest the following year. For the various accounts of this campaign, see YS[2] 2, 29-33 (cf. Abramowski 1976, 124-130); CS 17, 382; 18, 403; MWESC 4, 3a-9b; SWCCL[1], 79b-84b; *Successors*, 33-42; ZUZR, 1-26; ES, 321-323. As already noted, the SH confuses the first invasion of Chin (1211) with the final campaign. In the present section the opening paragraph is nothing but a rephrasing of the beginning of § 247 and is totally anachronistic. (The words 'Having put Oldaqar Qorči in charge of the Great Palaces' at the end of § 271 are misplaced in the text as they are the actual beginning of § 272.) The date (Year of the Hare = 1231), which, incidentally, is the only one given in

the entire section on Ögödei covering §§ 270-281, refers to Ögödei's own departure for north China. He reached Yün-chung 雲中 (Ta-tung 大同 in Shansi) in September of that year. At that time, Ögödei's younger brother Tolui was leading the army which attacked Chin from the south. The two armies met at San-feng shan 三峰山 (Yü-hsien 禹縣 in Honan) in the beginning of February 1232. See MWESC 4, 6b.

The interesting episode of Ögödei's illness and Tolui's sacrifice is a story with strong epic overtones which had obviously gained wide acceptance, for it is also recorded, albeit with some variations, in the Persian and Chinese sources. Furthermore, Rašīd al-Dīn himself says that 'this story is well known.' See *Successors*, 38-39, 167-168; YS[2] 115, 2887. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 58 and n.1. According to J̌uvainī, no doubt a more reliable authority on this point, Tolui died of alcoholism. See his HWC, 549. For the version of Tolui's death in the AT[1], 114b (after the passage corresponding to the SH, § 253), see LDAT, 223-224. Cf. Li, 186-187, n. 272. See also below, at the end of the present note.

For the entire section from 'There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill' to 'Now your order shall decide!', see the translation and commentary in Mo, 226-233. The following are a few additional remarks and clarifications.

For the expression *ebedčin gürte-*, lit. 'to receive (= be attained by) illness', cf. Cleaves 1949, 110, n. 80. 'When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress', lit. 'When he was distressed losing mouth and tongue (= speech).' Cf. Poppe 1964, 372. 'Various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the cause of the illness*', lit. 'When one caused to divine by all kinds of shamans (*bö'es bö'es*) and soothsayers (*tölgečin*).' Whereas the term *bö'e* (= mo. *böge*) is the standard designation of the Mongolian shaman, *tölgeči* (< *tölge* 'omen, divination' + den. noun suff. *-či*) seems to have been a general term for diviners practising different forms of prognostication involving 'signs', such as marks on burnt shoulder blades (scapulimancy), flights of birds (augury), dreams (oniromancy),

etc. See Pelliot 1944, 93, n. 1; Mo, 227-228 (with some important remarks on the term *abidla-* 'to divine by inspecting the entrails of an animal', and on this practice among the medieval Mongols; cf. Ev-Pop, 310, n. 30); Bawden 1958/59, 1ff.; J.P. Roux in *Anthropos* 53:1958, 135ff.; CCME, 203ff.; and, especially, Róna-Tas 1972, 232ff. (also concerning the etymology of the word *tölge*). See also above, nn. 121, 201. For the role of the shaman as intermediary in the present instance, cf. Evan 1999, 174; Iššamc 1975, 136-137. 'The lords and rulers (*eǰet qant*) of the land and rivers (*qaǰar usun*) of the Kitat (lit. "of the Kitat people")', i.e. the powerful nature deities in the Altaic (shamanistic) conception of the world; and here, in particular, the indwelling spirits of natural features of the areas in north China affected by the Mongol invasion. As stated in the passage in question, the cause of their violent rage was the destruction and concomitant death – hence the inevitable pollution – caused by Ögödei's armies. It should be remembered that only three years before (March 1227), in the course of the campaign against Hsi Hsia, i.e. always in north China, the Mongol army was struck by a severe epidemic, possibly of typhus as Haenisch has suggested (Haenisch 1933, 548), and almost certainly caused by the wholesale slaughter of the civilian population. See KIPMX, 72, 102, n. 76, 187; de Rachewiltz 1960, 232-233, n. 104 (for the correct dating of the event). Činggis Qan died the following August and Haenisch (loc. cit.) suggested typhus as a possible cause, although this is unlikely in view of the time elapsed between the epidemic and Činggis' death. However, it is not surprising that when Ögödei resumed the hostilities in north China and suddenly fell ill, the soothsayers would relate his illness to the renewed slaughter of the population. With regard to the expression *qaǰar usun* (= mo. *γaǰar usu*) 'land and rivers (lit. "water[s]")', the same expression in Ordos designates a place considered from the point of view of its good or bad influence when building a house. See DO, 285b. Cf. ch. *feng-shui* 風水, 'geomancy', lit. 'wind and water.' Cf. also Cleaves 1959, 69, n. 55. For the cult of water among the

Mongols, cf. IBŠ, 154-156. On the form *qant* = *qat*, see Mo, 109, 230; *Matériel II*, 38 (13r, 3); Poppe 1975, 167; Street 1990a, 358 and n. 90; and above, n. 118. For the use of *qan* in this connection, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 273; Kałużyński 1978, 129, n. 17. On the verb *talbira-* 'to relax' → '(for an illness) to abate', besides the remarks in Mo, 231-232, cf. TAJ, 358, n. 387. 'Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve *as a substitute*?', lit. 'Will one from the persons of the family do?' Cf. Mo, 238, n. 221. On the influence of local genii, their connection with sickness and death, and the concept of a substitute offering, see Bawden 1963, 155-157; and for the ritual theme of the brother offering himself in place of the king-victim, cf. WIP, 17, n. 1. 'The Qa'an, opening his eyes': note the use of the single epithet 'the Qa'an' for 'Ögödei Qa'an' in this and the following sections. Cf. above, n. 269. 'What has happened?' (*ya'un bolbi*). On this expression, see Mo, 193 and n. 177.

'Our fortunate father Činggis Qa'an.' On the expression *sutu* 'endowed with good fortune', i.e. with the fortune conferred by Heaven, cf. above, nn. 74, 111; *Lettres*, 22.

'Feeling you as one would *feel* a wether', i.e. as one would feel a wether to make sure that it is fat. See Cl, 212, n. 39. 'The great throne': see above, n. 248.

'If … dies', lit. 'if … becomes not right.' On the expression *ǰöb ese bol-* = 'to die', see Cleaves 1948, 311-320 (esp. pp. 317-318, where the present passage is translated and discussed).

For the expression 'the numerous Mongol people', cf. Cleaves 1949a, 532-533; and, especially, idem 1986, 190-191, n. 4. However, I do not share Cleaves' interpretation of *olon Mongqol ulus* as 'The people (or nation) consisting of the Many Mongγol', i.e. taking *olon Mongqol* as *Olon Mongqol*, a designation of the Mongol people. Rather than considering '*Olon Mongγol ulus*' as being the syntactic equivalent of '*Yeke Mongγol ulus*' as Cleaves does, I consider the word *olon Mongqol* of our passage as the exact equivalent of *qamuq Mongqol* 'all the Mongols' of § 52. See above, nn. 52 and 202.

'Would rejoice at their good fortune' renders Mongolian *kibqangqun*. Although written as one word, this expression is actually made up of two words, i.e. *kib* and *qangqun*. Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1948, 311, n. 14, has suggested that *qang-* is the verb *qanu-* ~ *qang-* (before a suffix with an initial velar consonant) 'to be satisfied', and that the expression *kib qang-* corresponds to ord. *t'awaķ χaŋ-* 'to rejoice at somebody's misfortune' (= mo. *tabala-*). I am of the opinion that *kib* < **qib* = uig. *qïv* 'good fortune, luck.' See DTS, 449a; ED, 579a-b. This correspondence was first suggested by B. Vladimircov in SG, 272. The expression *kib qang-* would then mean 'to rejoice at one's own good fortune.' Cf. above, n. 219.

'I shall take the place of', lit. 'I shall be in the place of', i.e. 'I shall substitute.'

Tulu is the Siberian salmon (*Salmo taimen*), according to Les., 841b. The Ch'ing pentaglot (WTCWC, III, 4461.1) renders *tulu* with ma. *jelu*, which J. Norman (CMEL, 157b) translates as 'salmon trout (*Hucho taimen*).' Cf. HM, 528: 'Lachsforelle.' Actually, *tulu* is the taimen, a fish of the genus *Hucho*. See BRS, 434b; MED, 356a. The incorrect definition 'salmon trout' for the *Hucho taimen* is simply due to the fact that in Russia the salmon trout (*Salmo trutta*) is also referred to as *taimen* (both the salmon trout and the *Hucho* belong to the family *Salmonidae*). However, in my translation I have employed the word 'trout' (like Haenisch and Ligeti) for the sake of poetry. *Kileme* = mo. *kilime* 'sturgeon' (*Acipenser sturio*). Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 731-732.

The verbs *tulbal-* and *kinggül-* according to the Chinese gloss mean 'to split, cut in half' (劈破) and 'to break through, cut across' (橫斷) respectively. For the latter term, cf. *kinggüri-* 'to cut (off)' in § 124 (HW, 102). *Tulbal-* is possibly related to *tulbas* 'overturning', on which see Mo, 156-157. For the 'cleaving' and 'renting' in the poetic fish imagery, see below.

'I have conquered *those in* the fore (lit. "the visible"),/I have pierced (= killed) *those* afar (lit. "the outside")' (*ile-yi bi*

ilaqba/qadā-yi bi qatquba), i.e. 'I have defeated and killed the enemies who came forward and were near as well as those who stayed back and out of sight.' However, according to Do[1], 369, 379-380, n. 7 (cf. Do[2], 207 and nn. 6, 7), the words *ile* and *qada* are the names (Ile and Qada) of the two Jurchen commanders defeated by Tolui. See § 251. Translators are still divided on the issue, cf. Oz[1], VI, 457; Oz[2], II, 222, 247, nn. 6, 7; On, 163 and n. 366 (cf. the 2001 ed., 266, n. 663); Če, 259; Ev-Pop, 237. I am of the opinion that the poetic passage is couched in general terms and does not specifically refer to individuals. This is the view of the author(s) of the Chinese interlinear gloss (Y[2] Sup. 2, 4a), which is also followed by Cl, 213, and the same can be inferred from Rašīd al-Dīn's account (see below). However, the proof that Doronatib's argument is untenable is supplied by the Chinese gloss itself, which renders *qada* with *tsai-wai* 在外 'outside', as in §§ 156 and 169 (see HW, 55). *Qada* 'outside' = *qadā* < *qada'a*, w.f. *yadaya* (mo. id.). It is evident that the word the translator glossed as *tsai-wai* must have been *yadaya*, not *qada*. The gloss does indeed settle the matter.

'Tall of stature', lit. 'long of spine.'

'Cast your spells and make your incantations!' renders the Mongolian *arbatqun jügerütkün*. *Arba-* is glossed in Chinese as *chou* 呪 'to curse; to recite incantations or magic formulas.' This term is a direct borrowing from tu. *arba-* 'to charm, bewitch, cast a spell over; to conjure, exorcize, invoke.' See ĖSTY, I, 168-169. Cf. R.A. Miller in *JAOS* 118:1998, 268. For *jüger-*, glossed *tsu* 詛 'to curse, imprecate; to invoke the spirits', cf. the noun *jügeli*, meaning 'the sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to Heaven', in §§ 43, 44. See above, n. 43. In Kow., 2424a, we find *jüküli* 'mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans: [2]des paroles obscènes, des jurements, imprécations', which corresponds to SH *jügeli*, and clearly derives from *jükü-* ~ *jüke-* 'dire des obscénités, maudire, injurier' (Kow., loc.cit.). Cf. Les., 1084b; kh. *züxėl* 'curse, malediction.' Mo. *jükü-* ~ *jüke-* corresponds to SH *jüger-*. For

-r ~ zero, cf. Cleaves 1952, 101, n. 122; and Mostaert 1957, 550, n. 37. Cf. above, n. 66.

'The magic water', lit. 'the water of incantation.'

This entire passage needs explaining. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 186-187, n. 272), in Rašīd al-Dīn's work (*Successors*, 38-39, 167) Tolui is made to declare that if Ögödei's sickness is due to having sinned, his own sins are even greater because, in all the lands, he himself slayed more men in battle, carrying off their wives and children and enslaving their mothers and fathers. If, on the other hand, Heaven wants Ögödei because of his fairness of face, elegance of stature and many accomplishments, Tolui is equally as handsome and accomplished, indeed more fitting and suitable. So Tolui earnestly begs Heaven to take him instead of his elder brother. In our passage, the trout, or, better, the taimen (see above) and the sturgeon are poetic images of Tolui's helpless victims; the rest is clear in the light of Rašīd al-Dīn's text.

'I have become drunk' (*soqtaba*). For *soqta-* (= mo. *soɣta-*, *soɣto-*) 'to be(come) drunk', cf. HCWLYTT, 256-257, no. 85. This reference to drunkenness is most significant. We know from J̌uvainī, a contemporary of these events, that Tolui was 'excessively addicted to the circulating of cups of wine from morn till eve, and a malady overtook him such that two or three days did not pass before he died' (HWC, 549). I think that Boyle (ibid., n. 5) is correct in stating that the true cause of Tolui's death has been 'curiously idealized' in the Mongolian version of his demise. Tolui, who had a very close relationship with Ögödei ('affection beyond the degree of brotherhood', says J̌uvainī, op.cit., 549), is made to sacrifice his own life to save his brother, just as in § 201 J̌amuqa is made to ask to be executed by Činggis who unwillingly obliges him. But, even though the present account of Tolui's death is an idealized and, therefore, falsified version of the event, the author of the account has managed to introduce, not once but twice, a reference to Tolui's state of drunkenness, even if in this case such a state is caused

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by the shamans' magic potion – a brilliant literary device to combine intoxication with death.

'His younger brothers': this expression actually refers to the nephews – not the younger brothers – of Ögödei, i.e. the sons of Tolui by his wife Berüde. Berüde is another name of Sorqaqtani Begi (see § 186) and the sons in question are none other than Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Bökö, whom Tolui, about to die, entrusts to the care of Ögödei together with his wife, the orphans and the widow. For the correct understanding of this passage, see Mo, 234-235. For the various names by which the Mongol princesses were known, cf. de Rachewiltz 1999a, 76.

'Until they are able to look after themselves', lit. 'until they attain understanding.' By 'understanding' (*or* 'intelligence': *oyi*[*n*], mo. *oyun*) is meant the ability to cope with a situation and be independent. See Mo, 235-237. Cf. above, n. 149.

'I have said all I have to say', lit. 'I have said my whatever words.' For this expression, cf. *Lettres*, 36; Street 1981, 158.

Regarding the year of Tolui's death our sources are in disagreement. The SH gives 1231, but YS[2] 2, 32, gives the ninth month (16 September-15 October) of 1232. However, in the biography of Tolui (YS[2] 115, 2887) it is stated that in the fifth month (22 May-19 June) Ögödei fell ill; in the sixth month (20 June-19 July) his condition deteriorated. Then Tolui offered himself as expiatory victim and drank the magic water. After a few days Ögödei recovered and Tolui returned with him to the north, i.e. to Mongolia. The text then says: 'When he (Tolui) reached the territory of A-la-ho-ti-ssu 阿剌合的思 (? Alaq Taš, "Motley Rock[s]") he became ill and died, aged forty … (lacuna in the text).' The rare TCHP 21, 29a, gives the tenth month (14 November-13 December) of 1232 for his death. Rašīd al-Dīn (*Successors*, 168), gives the Year of the Snake (= 1233), but since he says that his death occurred while Ögödei was on his way back to Mongolia (ibid., 38, 167), the year in question must be 1232. The inference is that he must have died towards the close of the year and that the news of his death became known in 1233. Nevertheless, the account in Tolui's biography, which

mentions *also* the locality where Tolui is supposed to have died, seems to be the most reliable as far as this event is concerned. On the problem of Tolui's name after his death, see the perceptive remarks in Boyle 1956, 146-154. Cf. also NHHO, 11, n. 2. For further references on Tolui and his relationship with his brothers, cf. MNT, I, 125-131; Szerb 1989, 370ff.; L.L. Viktorova in OUMĖIX, V/1, 155-157; and A. Sárközi in RLSAW, 314-323.

§ **273**. The end of the Altan Qan, i.e. of the last Chin emperor Ai-tsung 哀宗 (r. 1224-34), came in February 1234, with the fall of Ts'ai-chou 蔡州, his last refuge in Honan. The name Seüse (< ch. *hsiao-ssu* 小廝 'Little Slave') was in all probability given to Ai-tsung by Ögödei before the former's demise in 1234. This name is also mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in the forms 'Shose' (*Successors*, 34), 'Suse' (SL^2, II, 21), or 'Säwsä' the reading proposed by Ligeti (Ligeti 1959, 243), as the actual name of the Altan Qan. We know in fact that the Chinese personal name of the Chin sovereign was Shou-hsü 守緒 (CS 17, 373; cf. RC, 101 [I]), which accounts for Rašīd's statement. The renaming by Ögödei is, in my view, nothing but a re-interpretation of the Chin emperor's original name based on the phonetic resemblance between it and the Sino-Mongolian term *seüse*. On the origin and use of this interesting term, see Ligeti, loc. cit. and n. 11; Serruys 1974, 319-325. Contrary to what is stated in the present section of the SH, Ögödei had by then (1234) left north China after entrusting his generals with the continuation and completion of the campaign against Chin. He himself had already begun his return journey to Mongolia in 1232. See above, n. 272, and below. (One may justifiably assume that this sudden withdrawal from the field was actually prompted by Ögödei's illness and his fears that the powerful and hostile spirits of the 'land of the Kitat' would eventually destroy him.) The appellation Seüse, like that of Šidurqu given by Činggis Qan to the Hsi Hsia ruler, had religious significance. It meant

that, in the afterlife, the spirit of the former Chin sovereign would serve Ögödei as a slave. Cf. above, n. 267.

'He despoiled him of his ...', lit. 'He plundered their ....' However, in the present instance *anu* 'their' is apparently used in place of *inu* 'his', as is occasionally the case in the ancient language. See above, n. 260. Alternatively, it may refer to 'the Kitat people.'

'Piebald horses' renders *alašas* (pl. of *alaša*), which the interlinear gloss translates as *Huai-ma* 淮馬 'Huai horse(s)'. This term is puzzling, and both W. Hung (*apud* Cl, 214, n. 46) and TH (p. 94; cf. ǰYT, 166) rightly suggest that in the present instance the gloss must be wrong. The previous renderings ('Alashas horses' [Ha]; 'horses' [Ko, Oz[1]]; 'geldings' [Da[5]]; etc.), or the mere adoption of the gloss (Yao-Ja) are not satisfactory. Unfortunately, the sectional summary is of no help, since it refers to the *alašas* in general terms as 'domestic animals' (頭畜). See Y[2] Sup. 2, 26a. *Alaša* is a Turkic word. Although in most Turkic languages its meaning now is 'gelding; horse', originally it meant 'motley, speckled.' See NMP, I, 135-136; ĖSTY, I, 136-137. In 13th century Kuman (= Coman), *alača* (> *alaša*) still meant 'speckled.' See KoW, 34. This affords the clue to the mysterious *Huai-ma* of the SH. The character 淮 is almost certainly a scribal error for *chui* 騅 'piebald horse.' For the expression *chui-ma* 騅馬, cf. PWYF, III, 2040a. *Alaša* is clearly a Turkic loanword and, in my view, it designated a particular type of piebald horse, possibly a small one. Cf. Ligeti's 'multicoloured horses' (Li, 132). On the term *alaša*, cf. also Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, III, 325, n. 12; the important entry on *ālaša* in TMEN, no. N20=1965; and SSTMY, I, 30a (where, however, the reference to 'π' which usually means VGAS is used incorrectly – p.c. from Prof. R.A. Miller).

'Garrison troops' renders *tammači*, a special term designating an important institution going back to pre-Mongol times. It is made up of *tamma* (< ch. *t'an-ma* 探馬 'scout horse') + name of agent suff. *-či*. *Tammači* were thus 'mounted

scouts' or 'vanguard troops', i.e. a specially selected corps of an advancing army. However, in the early Mongol period this term was used to designate 'garrisoning troops' because, as military outposts, they too performed a 'watching' or 'spying' function similar to that of scouts reconnoitering enemy territory. *Tammači* troops were deployed in border areas and in newly conquered territories. With progressive feudalization and the parcelling of the countries subject to Mongol rule, the term *tammači* during the Yüan period came to be employed for the private armies – often used by the court as auxiliary troops – belonging to the Mongol apanage-holders and leaders of entrusted territories (ch. *t'ou-hsia* 頭下; mmo. *ayimaq*), which were largely composed of members of their clans and their dependants and subjects. In this way it gradually acquired both ethnic and territorial connotations, the understanding of which is still imperfect and controversial. On *tamma* and *tammači* there is a comparatively vast literature. See the references in MEYD, 137, n. 119, 310-311; TMEN, no. 130; Buell 1980; and Murakami 1983, 101. See also TMAE, 377ff.; WHHC, 283-295; YSLC, 200ff.; Ōba Shōichi 大葉昇一 in *MK* 15:1984, 2-14; Hagiwara Junpei 萩尾淳平 in *TYSK* 36,2:1977, 79-105; Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 in *YSLT* 2:1983, 23-42; Yang Chih-chiu 楊志玖 in CKMKSCK, 371-379, and in MKSYCLWC, 116-133 (see also YSSL, 27-66); RRT, 4; YShi, 104. On the *t'ou-hsia*, with which the *tammači* are intimately related, see in particular MEYD, 16, 132-133, n. 69, 137, n. 119; Ratchnevsky 1966a; Hung CF 1987; Schurmann 1951, 304-305; ESYD, 63, n. 46; Fletcher 1986, 39; and MRC, 211a (Index), s.v. 'Appanages.'

Namging and Jungdu are Pien/K'ai-feng and Chung-tu/Peking respectively. See above, nn. 251 and 247. In Chung-tu a resident commissioner (*daruqači*; see above, n. 263) was appointed by the Mongols as early as 1215. See de Rachewiltz 1966, 114, n. 5, 116, 135, n. 3.

For Ögödei's return to Mongolia, see above, n. 272. See also YS^2 2, 32, where it is stated that he returned to the imperial

court in the ninth month (16 September-15 October) of 1232; he hunted in the steppe of Na-lan Ch'ih-la-wen 納蘭赤剌溫 (*Naran Čila'un) in the eleventh month (14 December 1232-11 January 1233); and he reached Činggis Qan's *ordo*(*s*) in the twelfth month (12 January-10 February 1233). On Činggis' *ordos*, see above, n. 269. On the testimony of the SH, the camp in question was situated at Qara Qorum (ch. Ho-lin 和林 < Qorum). That is the first and only reference in the SH to this famous place near the right (= east) bank of the Orkhon which, after being walled by order of Ögödei in 1235, became the capital of the Mongol empire. Much has been written on Qara Qorum (see below), and from an early date; cf. the 13th century accounts by John of Pian di Carpine (who, however, did not visit it personally), William of Rubruck and Marco Polo (who also described it without having been there himself). In 1825, J.-P. Abel-Rémusat published a monograph, written in 1817, on Qara Qorum where, while providing some new and interesting data from the Chinese sources, he unfortunately confused this town with Qara Balγasun, the ancient capital of the Uighurs, thus misleading most writers after him. See Cordier, 2804, for Abel-Rémusat's essay; and H. Yule's comments in MP^2, I, 228, n. 1. Qara Balγasun was situated some 30 km north of Qara Qorum on the *left* (= west) bank of the Orkhon, whereas Qara Qorum was on the *right* (= east) bank, ca. 2 km from the river (at 47° 14 N 102° 50 E)). Qara Qorum was, therefore, in the very heartland of the ancient Turks, the so-called 'land (*or* territory) of Ötüken' (tu. *Ötüken yir*) which designated the whole territory north of the Khangai (= Ötüken) Mts. comprised within the Orkhon (Orqun), Selenga (Sälängä) and Tes (Täz) rivers. Cf. Klyashtorny 1982, 340, 346, n. 2. As a settlement prior to Činggis Qan's accession, Qara Qorum belonged to the Naiman, a tribe with Turkic affiliations (see above, n. 141), 'and perhaps also at one time to their immediate neighbours and rivals the Kerait' (NMP, I, 167). This background accounts for the fact that the name Qara Qorum, meaning 'Black Boulder', is Turkic and almost certainly Uighur in origin. See ibid., 167. When

Činggis Qan launched his Western Campaign, he apparently made Qara Qorum a base camp (*a'uruq*), and possibly designated the site as his future capital at about this time, for the Chinese sources claim that he 'established his capital' there in 1220. See NMP, I, 167; Cleaves 1952, 29, 35-36, n. 5. It is not surprising then that Ögödei set up his main camp there after his accession, eventually surrounding it with a protective wall. This happened in 1235. His palace (*ordo*), known in Chinese as Wan-an kung 萬安宮, i.e. 'Palace of the Myriad Tranquilities' (pmo. *tümen amuγulang* ?), was built in the spring of the same year. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who probably gave the Chinese name Wan-an kung to the palace and who witnessed its construction, wrote a short but elegant gratulatory piece on the occasion of 'the setting up of the beams', which is found in his *Collected Works*. See de Rachewiltz 1997a, 42 and nn. 20, 21. Qara Qorum remained the official capital until Qubilai's arbitrary elevation as *qa'an* in 1260, his subsequent transfer of the seat of power to north China and the rupture with his younger brother Ariq Bökö (d. 1266) who retained Qara Qorum as his base. After Ariq Bökö's defeat and death, Qara Qorum fell into the orbit of Qubilai's rebel nephew Toq Temür (d. ca. 1279), and ultimately into that of his hostile cousin Qaidu (d. 1301). In between rebellions, the former capital, which consisted largely of tents with only a few solid structures and edifices like the palace complex and some temples, was neglected and fell into disrepair despite occasional economic help from the south. See KK, 113-114. Repair work, such as the restoration of a Buddhist shrine, was still carried out in 1342-1346, as we learn from a Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346. Little is known about the condition of the site after the fall of the Yüan until 1586, when the famous temple complex of Erdeni J̌uu (Erdeni Zuu, Erdeni Dzu) was built alongside it by Abdai Qan of the Qalqas. Following the construction of Erdeni J̌uu, the fairly rich documentation that we possess, consisting of chronicles, travel accounts and epigraphies, concerns the lamasery itself, which continued to exert its influence, with numerous additions and

renovations, in the following two and a half centuries. Its decline began before the end of the 19th century, together with the decline of Lamaism throughout Mongolia in the later stages of Manchu domination. In 1889, N.M. Yadrincev discovered the ruins of the ancient capital 6 km from Erdeni J̌uu and from that time until the present (2003) there have been several archaeological surveys and investigations by Russian, Mongolian, Japanese and German scholars which have brought to light the remains of important structures, revealing the areas occupied by different buildings, wooden pillars, a wooden floor of beams and a roof of glazed tiles belonging to the main palace, as well as the town wall (an earthen mound 2 m. high with a wattle fence along its top). Also, a great many artifacts, ceramics and coins have been found and, more recently, a number of graves and several fragments of the commemorative stele with an inscription in Chinese which apparently belonged to the well-known stone tortoise in front of Ögödei's (or Möngke's) palace. The excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in 2001 on the site of the palace have revealed basements of huge statues, and beautiful terracotta heads of Buddhas in the style of Qara Qoto. Among the most recent and interesting finds one must mention a brass (? bronze) seal with a legend in 'Phags-pa script dating from 1371. The surrounding area and, especially, the Erdeni J̌uu monastic complex and its inscriptions, have also been the subject of a thorough investigation. For the finds made by the joint Soviet-Mongolian expedition led by S.V. Kiselev in 1948-1949, see DMG, 123-322; for the more recent discoveries by Mongolian archaeologists, see AKK and ACK. Cf. also TMo, 94-103. The literature on Qara Qorum is, as one would expect, quite voluminous. The following is a basic list; many additional references are given in the bibliographies that accompany several of the cited works: NMP, I, 165-169 et passim (see ibid., III, 220c); Cleaves 1952; DMG, 123-322; AKK; ACK; Alexandre 1979; TMo, 94-103; Tkačev 1986 (with a bibliography on pp. 230-231); Dalaĭ 1994; Sagaster 1999; MIHH, 228-251; MNDTSD, 189-192, 273-274; Ts'en Chung-

mien 岑仲勉 in *CYYY* 5,4:1935, 461-463; Yi Kae-Seok in *MH* 4, 27-41 (in Korean with an English abstract); Mu, III, 326-327; Mo, 27, n. 20; TMEN, no. 1476; YShi, 41-42; *YSPFCK* 3:1978, 5-7; RBC, 156; CEME, 13. As for the native sources on Erdeni J̌uu, see IĖD – a valuable contribution with a rich bibliography (pp. 162-166). On it, cf. A. Sárközi in *AOH* 53:2000, 273-274. For a pun on the name Qara Qorum in ET (see ET[3], 52r30), cf. Žamc.[1], 18; Žamc.[2], 11, where the old capital is referred to as 'a city called "Moment" (Qorumqan)', i.e. as an ephemeral town in the historical context of the early 15th century (1415), when the city as such had become only a memory of the past.

§ **274**. For Čormaqan Qorči's campaign against the 'Baqtat people', i.e. the people of Baghdad, see § 260, where it is first mentioned, albeit anachronistically. Čormaqan's expedition was originally (1230/31) directed against J̌alāl al-Dīn. After the latter's death (1231), Čormaqan remained in western Asia as commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces. The Mongols' unsuccessful attack on Baghdad took place in 1238. See above, nn. 260 and 270. On *tamma*, see above, n. 273. Here *tamma* = *tammači*.

'*Ɲaq*-fabrics' renders Mongolian *naqut*, plural of *naq* (< pers. *nax*), a word designating a kind of gold brocade, also known in Europe in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance under various names related to *nax* (*nac*, *nacchi*). See MR, II, 124-125; Pelliot 1927a, 269-271, n. 1; idem 1930a, 200; RCAC, 161; SI, 495-496; CEME, 134a (Index); Poppe 1955, 40; MKSLT, II, 683. For *načidut* '(gold) brocades', see above, n. 238. As stated earlier, *naq* (*nax*) and *načit* (*nasīǰ*) are often paired and virtually synonymous. Cf. CEME, 3.

'With gilded *thread*' renders the Mongolian *širamal altatan*. This expression is glossed in the interlinear translation as *huang-chin yu-ti* 黃金有的 'having yellow gold', the Ming translator(s) evidently having taken *širamal* as a synonym of *šira* 'yellow.' The expression *šira altan* occurs in fact immediately before, and this must have misled them. *Širamal* is a deverbal noun in *-mal*

(see GWM, 48, § 168) from *šira-* 'to roast; to gild.' See Les., 714b. Cf. ord. *šaramal ult'a* 'dorure' (DO, 609a). 'Brocades and damasks with gilded thread' refers to brocades and damasks embroidered with gilded silver thread. On the 'brocades' (*načidut*), 'damasks' (*dardas*), 'small pearls' (*subut*) and ' big pearls' (*tanas*), cf. also above, § 238; and Mu, III, 331-333, nn. 4-7.

Tobiča'ut is the plural of *tobičaq* (< tu. *topčaq*) 'a fine horse from the West.' In the MA, 350a, *tobčaq morin* is glossed 'Arab horse.' For many references to this term, see Poppe 1967, 515, no. 9; TMEN, no. 949.

Güring elö'üt and *da'usi kičidut* according to the Chinese interlinear gloss are designations of different kinds of camels. *Güring* must correspond to mo. *küreng* (~ *kürin*) 'dark brown.' See Les., 505a. The words *elö'üt* (pl. of **elö'ür* ?) and *kičidut* (a double pl. of *kičir*) cannot at present be identified with any degree of certainty. For *kičir* (*temege*) as an Alashan dialect term for a camel with an inconspicuous and soft hump, cf. TH, 216 (= ǰYT, 373). *Da'usi* (? orig. *ta'usi*), the written form of which was **dayusi* or, better, **tayusi*, is almost certainly derived from ch. *t'o-tzu* 駝子 'humpback.' Cf. *lausa* (= mo. *luusa, layusa*) < ch. *lo-tzu* 騾子 'mule.' For the rendering of ch. *tzu* 子 with the Mongol syllable *si*, see HCG, 150; for the rendering with the syllable *sa* (*za*), cf. ch. *t'ao-tzu* 絛子 'braid, ribbon' > mo. *tuuza*. I think that the 'dark brown *elö'üt*' are Bactrian camels, i.e. the two-humped *Camelus bactrianus*, the stallion of which is usually known as *bu'ura* (= mo. *buγura*, *buura* – a borrowing from Turkic), and the 'humpback *kičidut*' are the Arabian camels, i.e. the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius*. Cf. Mu, III, 333-334, n. 9. For other references to the camel in the SH, see above, nn. 65 and 152. For the camel in Mongolia, see R.I. Meserve in *ESY* 65:1993, 169-170. For the camel in China in the Mongol period, see Schafer 1950, 190-192. Cf. also MR, I, 150-151, n. 404.

Qačidut and *lausasut* are also double plurals of *qačir* (< tu.) and *lausa* (< ch.) 'mule' respectively. See Pelliot 1927a, 271, n. 1; TMEN, no. 1395; and above, n. 194. Mostaert (*apud* Cl, 214-215, n. 55) is of the opinion that the term *lausa* 'indicated especially the mules to be mounted.'

The campaign of Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke had been mentioned in § 270 in connection with Sübe'etei Ba'atur's expedition, and all the names of peoples and places in the present section are repetitions of those found in §§ 262 and 270. As stated earlier, we are dealing here with the great expedition against the West (1236-1242). See above, nn. 262, 270. The word *ketülǰü* 'they crossed' after the names of the two rivers 'Eǰil and J̌ayaq' has been inadvertently omitted from the text (see NHHO, 129-130; 130, n. 1), and 'Eǰil' is another form of the name of the Volga (Idil in § 262 and Adil in § 270). Cf. the form 'Aǰil' of AT[1], 117b. See above, n. 262. For Meget (same reading in § 275; Meket in § 270) = Magas, see above, n. 270. 'Utterly crushed', lit. 'utterly finished' (*ülüttele*). As noted by Pelliot (NHHO, 130, n. 2) and Ligeti (Li, 187, n. 274), Asut, Sesüt and Bolar are not names of towns (they are properly referred to as 'tribes' and 'peoples' in §§ 262 and 270). For the mention of the Asut in the present context, see Allsen 1987/91, 31. Mankerman = Menkermen of §§ 262 and 270. The text actually has 'Bolarman Kerman', an obvious error for 'Bolar Menkermen'; cf. 'Meketmen Kermen' for 'Meket Menkermen' in § 270. See above, n. 270.

From the list of peoples mentioned in this section four names are missing: Maǰar, Kerel, Sergesüt and Kešimir – probably by accident, as suggested by Ligeti (Li, 187, n. 275, where however '264' is an error for '274'). For the establishment of resident commissioners (*daruqačin*) and garrisons (*tammačin*) in the occupied territories, see Allsen 1987/91, 32.

The SH notice on the campaign against the J̌ürčet (see below) and the Solangqas, i.e. the Koreans, is totally anachronistic, as these events occurred much later, during the reign of Möngke (1251-59). In 1253, J̌alayirtai Qorči was appointed

commander of the Mongol expeditionary forces against Koryŏ and was active in Korea until his death in 1258/59. Yisüder Qorči was sent 'in support' of J̌alayirtai, i.e. as reinforcement, in 1258. Details of the activity of these two commanders are found in the Korean and Chinese sources, and have been discussed by various scholars, in particular T. Kobayashi, G. Ledyard and W. Henthorn. See GHK, 187-190; Ledyard 1964, 1-10; KMI, 137-151, 153. Cf. also Mu, III, 336-339; Dalaĭ 2000, 75. Serov 1977 is inadequate. (The work by Ko Pyŏng-in 高柄翊 on Sino-Korean relations during the Yüan period is unfortunately not available to me.) For the name Yisüder, see Bese 1974, 92-93; Poppe 1975, 163. Commenting on the relevant passage of the SH, Cleaves (Cl, 215, n. 63) writes: 'This is a reference to the expedition of 1218, not previously mentioned in the *Secret History*. Cf. the *Yüan shih* 元史 1 (*ts'e* 1). 20r1-3.' However, the 'Mongol' commander mentioned in the YS s.a. 1218 is not J̌alayirtai, but J̌ala. See YS^2 1, 20. The reading J̌ala is confirmed not only by other passages in the YS (YS^2 208, 4607, 4609, where it is written 劄剌 instead of 札剌), but also by the Sino-Korean sources. See MSXB, 210a (Index, s.v. 'Žala'). Cf. MWESC 3, 19b, where the same confusion occurs. In Y^2 115, 2886, J̌ala appears as the name of a Jurchen commander; and if J̌ala = J̌alar 札剌兒, we know that a Kitan official bore this name too. See HCG, 65. In any event, the passage of the SH in question can in no way be related to the entry in the YS insofar as the former specifically refers to 'the J̌ürčet and the Solangqas.' The name 'J̌ürčet' associated with 'Solangqas' in our text has nothing to do with the defunct Chin dynasty or the Jurchens of north China. It refers to the so-called 'Eastern Jurchens' of Manchuria, of the region north of the Koryŏ Long Wall (corresponding to the northeastern part of present-day North Korea), whose territory the Mongol forces had to cross in order to penetrate into eastern Koryŏ, and whose sudden raids were a constant source of harassment for the invaders. See KMI, 6 et passim. In the Mongol period, owing to the close proximity of the Eastern Jurchens and Koryŏ, the expression

'Jürčet and Solangqas' became a general designation for the whole area of southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea. See Ledyard 1964, 9 and n. 37; *Successors*, 33, 281 and n. 149. For the still controversial etymology of the name Solangqas ~ Solongqos (= mo. Solangγas ~ Solongγos), plural of Solangqa ~ Solongqo (= mo. Solangγa ~ Solongγo), applied to the Koreans, see Ledyard, op. cit., 17-19; HCG, 276, 361-362; RCAC, 130-131. Cf. also DO, 582b. On the reason for the inclusion of such a late item in the Mongol chronicle, and the bearing that it has on the date of composition of the SH, see Waley 1960, 528-529; Ledyard, op. cit., 10-16; de Rachewiltz 1965, 189ff.; idem 1963/64, 6-7; and Section Two of the Introduction.

§ **275**. 'From the Kibčaq campaign' (*Kibčaqčin ayan de'ereče*), lit. 'From on the Kibčaq (military) campaign.' For the expression *ayan de'ere*, see Cleaves 1952, 104, n. 147. The suffix *-čin* of *Kibčaqčin* is used to form nouns designating ethnic origin. Cf. the noun *Sartaqčin* in § 181. See Poppe 1975, 164.

For the expression *öčiǰü ile-* 'to send saying (= reporting to, petitioning a superior)', see *Lettres*, 26-27.

'By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of *my* uncle the Qa'an' (*möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür Qa'an abaqa-yin su-tur*). For this standard formula, and the connotations of the words *güčü* (= *küčü*) and *su*, see above, §§ 74 and 224. Cf. also Cleaves 1953, 40, n. 1; *Lettres*, 20-22 (with regard to *su*); Cleaves 1979, 68ff.; MD, 20ff. In this connection it may be interesting to mention the following identical expression used by Pizarro's secretary Francisco Xeres in his report to the King of Spain (Charles V) of 1534: 'By reason of his (i.e. the King's – I.R.) great power and good fortune.' See RDP, 1.

The 'eleven countries and peoples' are those listed in §§ 262 and 270; in § 274 they are mentioned again (minus four names). See above, n. 274.

For the expression 'turned back (lit. "withdrawing ourselves"), pulling in the golden reins' (*altan ǰilu'a ičun tataǰu*), i.e. reining in the *qan*'s war-horse, hence, figuratively, bringing

the campaign to an end, cf. § 256 and com.; Cleaves 1996, 20, n. 140.

'A large tent' renders *yeke čačir*. *Čačir* = mo. *čačar*, on which see Les., 156a. For this term, cf. TMEN, no. 1042; RH, 250, no. 7; Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 120-121; HCWLYTT, 193, no. 55; and, especially, Serruys 1984.

'The ceremonial wine' (*ötök*): see above, n. 154. As exemplified in other incidents of this kind, all too frequent at Mongol feasts, the ceremonial on these formal occasions placed extreme importance on questions of status and precedence when serving wine and making formal toasts. See above, §§ 130, 154 and com. Cf. also Pelliot's remarks on the subject in NHHO, 133, n. 1.

'Refused to join the feast', lit. 'without feasting the feast.' The angry and scathing remarks of Büri, Güyük and Harqasun call for comment. Büri first raises the point that Batu is not superior in rank to them and should not have drunk first. Secondly, he emphasizes that Batu is actually inferior to them as a man, and is more like a woman, even though he has a beard, and carries a quiver (adds Güyük). Büri goes on saying, contemptuously, that the way to treat such 'women' is to kick them and tread on them. Güyük goes even further in vituperation and says that they should be whipped or hit with burning sticks – a form of punishment inflicted by the medieval Mongols on female criminals, implying thereby that Batu not only lacks manliness but is also evil. Harqasun joins Büri and Güyük in their tirade and suggests that they should attach a tail to Batu – as a jibe – thus adding insult to injury. As we have already seen (§ 181), the tail of an animal, especially a heavy and cumbersome tail, was an object of ridicule. To attach a wooden tail to someone, either for fun or, more likely, for punishment, was clearly meant to mock and humiliate the person concerned. Cf. also Mostaert's remarks in Cl, 216, n. 66; and ibid., 110, n. 51. Cf. above, n. 181. As for Güyük's suggestion, Ligeti has pointed out (Li, 188, n. 275) that this form of punishment is mentioned by William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*. See SF,

304; cf. MM, 200: 'and he (Mangu Chan – I.R.) ordered her (i.e. the woman who had murdered the girl – I.R.) to be beaten with burning brands.' I think that this is what is actually meant by *ǰorqalda-*, a verb glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as 'to beat with firewood' (柴打). *J̌orqalda-* is undoubtedly *ǰoryalda-*, the reciprocal form of *ǰorya-*, factitive of *ǰor-*, meaning in Written Mongolian 'to shave off, pare off, scratch, carve (wood).' See Les., 1070b. In my opinion, the meaning 'to beat with a burning brand' is a secondary and derivative one from that of 'to scratch, carve.' The reciprocal form is used here for the co-operative, as is often the case in the SH. See Haenisch 1950, 20. For a better understanding of this passage I am greatly indebted to Street 1984, 142-143 (cf. also idem 1990, 189). My translation is, therefore, at variance with that of Cl, 216; Oz[1], VI, 485; and other translators, but it agrees with the interlinear Chinese version.

Harqasun, who is mentioned here for the first time, was the son of Elǰigidei (~ Elǰigedei) of §§ 229 and 278. On him, see below, n. 278. He was executed by order of Möngke in 1251. See HWC, 587 and n. 117; *Successors*, 204, 212. Cf. MPa, 201-202. On Elǰigidei see below, n. 278.

'Of a different race', lit. 'having a different liver.' In Mongolian, the word 'liver' (pmo. *helige*; mo. *elige*) has various meanings, one of which is 'blood *or* close relative.' See Les., 309b; Gol., I, 86a; MGDJ, I, 166b. 'To be with (= to have) a different liver' (*busu heligetü*) is 'to be unrelated' → 'to belong to a different group (= fr. *ethnie*).'

For the expression *bulqa irgen* 'rebel(lious) people', see Cleaves 1949, 111, n. 89; 'Trois documents', 492; and above, n. 150.

'Asking ourselves whether we had been successful', lit. 'saying, "Has it become right? correct?"', i.e. being still in doubt as to the outcome of the operation that has just been completed. Cf. above, n. 167.

'Büri and Güyük spoke to us in this way', lit. 'Having been so told by Büri and Güyük.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374. With regard

to § 275, Ligeti (Li, 188, n. 275), has rightly drawn attention to the fact that this section (§ 275), together with §§ 254 and 255 (and some other sections), is almost certainly a later interpolation designed to discredit Ögödei's line of succession. According to Ligeti, the interpolation was introduced into the text of the SH when Ögödei's line had already been removed from the succession, or when this was about to happen (Güyük died in 1248).

§ **276**. 'Following whose counsel (lit. "words")' renders the Mongolian *ken-ü üges-tür dölüsgüǰü*. The verb *dölüsgü-* is not attested elsewhere. In § 177 there is a verb *dölüsge-* 'to disperse', used with reference to smoke and possibly related to mo. *dölüre-* 'to crack, become disjointed' (Les., 267b); however, it does not seem to be the same verb as *dölüsgü-*. The latter is glossed in the interlinear translation as *ch'en-hung* 趁鬨 (= 趁哄). This is an old *pai-hua* expression literally meaning 'to take advantage (and participate in) commotion (*or* bustle)' and, by extension, 'to join somebody else's doings; to take advantage of and exploit a situation of confusion for one's own purposes.' Thus, *üges-tür dölüsgü-* would mean something like 'to follow (*or* adopt) somebody else's words for one's own purposes.' The idea of 'following, imitating' is paralleled in Ögödei's words addressed to Harqasun further on. Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 2, 33a): 'Listening to whose words ...' (聽誰的言語).

'Does ... fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him?', lit. 'does ... speak, the mouth full, *against* an elder brother person?' Here 'elder brother' (*aqa*) = 'senior, elder.' Cf. MA, 266b, where *aya* (*aqa*) is glossed in Chaghatai as *uluγ* 'elder.' For *aqa gü'ün*, cf. the expression *qan gü'ün* 'a person who is a ruler' in § 155. Cf. *Matériel I*, 17 and n. 12; *Matériel II*, 27 (9r,1). Batu was Güyük's first cousin and they must have been about the same age. However, Batu, as we have seen, was regarded as the senior one among all the princes, i.e. the grandsons of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 270.

'May he *and he* alone rot like an egg!', lit. 'May the single egg rot!' Ögödei apparently means that Güyük alone among his sons should be rejected – just as one casts away a bad egg. See Cl, 216, n. 69.

'He has turned against the bosom', lit. 'he is rebelling to (*or* at) the breast.'

'We shall place him in the vanguard (*alginči*).' For *alginči* 'scout, spy, vanguard', cf. above, n. 37; Kałużyński, 131 (where, however, '279' is a misprint for '276').

'Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;.../Until the nails of his five fingers are ground down.' For this idiom, cf. § 53. For the words '... the town walls/*Which are made* of hard-pounded *earth*', cf. § 249: '... towns with pounded-earth *walls*.' (For the faulty reading *ha'utala* in place of *ha'uttala* [= *ha'udtala*], see Mo, 8.)

'You, wretched' (*či beter*) is a tentative translation. The word *beter*, not glossed in the text, has not survived in the later literary language; however, in the Ordos dialect we find the expression *Bшder BaDar k'шn* 'personne à esprit borné, personne grossière, rustre, qui ne sait pas se tirer d'affaire' (DO, 101b). According to TH, 149 (= ǰYT, 260), in Qorchin and Qarachin *beter* means 'depressed, sorrowful, in tears.' In Persian *badtar* means 'worse, more villainous.' See PED, 162a. This word has passed also into modern Turkish (Osmanli) as *beter* id. See VWTD, IV, 1618; TEL, 339a.

'In imitation of whom', lit. 'imitating whom' (*ken-i enggešigeǰü*). For this verb, cf. *enggesige-* 'to imitate' in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 34 (21a, 2). Cf. EMVHC, 87, 105, n. 155. (In view of the *Hsiao-ching* reading, the question mark in line 11503 on p. 166 of R should be deleted.)

'Have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk ... ?', lit. 'have you spoken big words, the mouth full ... ?'

'You would *then* say that We showed partiality' – a surprising statement in view of the offence that Harqasun had committed, which amounted to a crime of *lèse majesté* on the

part of a commoner. Ögödei obviously wants to appear over-careful and magnanimous vis-à-vis his subjects. Thus, Harqasun is to be banished to a far-away place and suffer hardship together with Güyük. Büri, on the other hand, has to be sent for judgement to his grandfather Ča'adai, who appointed him in the first place and to whom he must answer for his behaviour in the field. In the end, Ögödei's decision with regard to Güyük and Harqasun turns out to be wrong in terms of Činggiside law (*ǰasaq*), as shown in § 277. See the important remarks by Mostaert in Cl, 217, n. 76. On *alaqčilaba*, lit. '*I* was partial (*or* biased)', see Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 299.

'As for Büri', lit. 'If one says, "As for Büri?"'

§ 277. Continuation of the episode related in § 276.

Mönggei = Möngge (§§ 270, 274) = Möngke, Tolui's son and future *qa'an* (r. 1251-59). The Alčidai in question is the one mentioned in §§ 226, 227 and 234, and later in §§ 277, 278, viz. the younger brother (or cousin ?) of Ilügei, a commander of a thousand of the J̌alayir tribe (see § 202, no. 5). He was executed in 1251. He is the Alǰidai (= Alčidai) of the Chinese sources, and the Elčidei (~ Elčitei) Noyan of the Persian sources. On him, see HWC, 580, 583; SL^2, I/1, 95; *Successors*, 66, 89, 211, 224, 264; NMP, II, p. 642; and above, nn. 226, 242. The name Qongqortāi is mentioned twice in the present section in this form, and once as Qongqortaqai in § 278, also in association with Alčidai. We are no doubt dealing with one and the same person. Qongqortaqai, then, is to be read Qongqortaγai, from which we have *Qongqorta'ai > Qongqortai (= Qongqortāi). A Mongol chief by this name (Qongqurtaqai Noyan, *read* Qongqortaqai Noyan) is mentioned by J̌uvainī and by Rašīd al-Dīn, following J̌uvainī. See HWC, 557; *Successors*, 200. This independent authority confirms the correctness of the unusual form Qongqortaqai of our text. It is likely that the person mentioned by J̌uvainī is the same as that of the SH. Another Qongqortai, almost certainly unrelated to the above, is also mentioned in § 278 as a *ǰasa'ul*, i.e. 'supervisor.' See below, n. 278. On

these questions, see NHHO, 90-91, n. 2. J̌anggi is known from the Chinese and Persian sources. See HWC, 580-583, and n. 88. See also HCG, 278. Pelliot [P.P.-C.R.A.C.] writes: 'J̌anggi: cf. Geügi [§] 202 et cf. T'ou Ki (= MWESC – I.R.) 153, 60a.' Cf. above, n. 202. Like Alčidai, he was executed by order of Möngke after the latter's enthronement in 1251. As for Mönggei ~ Möngge (*-i* ~ zero), cf. SG, 298, § 159; 'Quelques problèmes', 266-267 (1).

'Field matters' (*ke'er-ün üyile*), lit. 'affair(s) of the steppe.'

On the use of the emphatic *gü...gü* in the decree (*ǰarliq*) of Činggis Qan, see Street 1982, 624.

'Will the Qa'an not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision*?', lit. 'If the Qa'an shows favour ... and sends *Güyük* to Batu entrusting *him with it*, will it *not* do?', the words 'the Qa'an is angry with Güyük' and '*This* is a field matter' being in between as parenthetical matter. See Cl, 218. For the same type of rhetorical question, see § 260, where it is also a question of the 'Qa'an' (here Činggis Qan) being angry at his sons.

'In the course of it' (*ǰa'ura*), i.e. during the campaign; however, *ǰa'ura* may also mean 'on the way, en route.' Either meaning can apply here, even though the interlinear gloss gives 'on the way' (路問). Cf. HW, 87; Buck, 102-103, no. 45.

'You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks', lit. 'His buttocks did not remain *unlashed*', i.e. could not escape being whiplashed. Cf. Cl, 218, n. 78.

'You crushed the spirit', lit. 'You broke the mien.' By 'mien' (*čirai*) is meant the proud spirit or air, i.e. the morale and self-confidence of the troops (as shown through one's countenance), as we have seen in previous sections (§§ 196, 208, 246). Here *ot-* (= mo. *od-*) 'to go' is an auxiliary verb of completed action. Cf. Mo, 156; and above, nn. 66, 80. Ögödei reproaches Güyük for the harsh treatment of his own troops in the field which had led to demoralization and loss of confidence.

'Do you imagine (lit. "make out") ... of yours?' For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 372; Street 1990, 177. For 'the Orusut (pl.) people', i.e. 'the Rus people', see above, n. 262.

'With pride in your heart', lit. 'holding a proud heart (*or* mind).'

'In the pronouncements' (*ǰarliq-tur*). Here *ǰarliq* does not mean 'decree, ordinance', but rather 'utterance, authoritative statement.' See Kow., 2306b.

'The multitudes *of people* make one afraid,/The depth *of water* makes one die (i.e. by drowning)' is obviously a proverb stressing the power of numbers: a large number of people, i.e. of enemies, frightens one, just as the depth (= large amount) of water drowns one. Ögödei means that the people of Rus did not submit to the Mongols because they were overawed by Güyük's angry and violent character, but because they were frightened by the size and might of the Mongol army.

'You pretend that you have accomplished it alone', lit. 'As if you had accomplished *it* alone.'

Büǰek, one of the army leaders in the campaign against Qïpčaq and Rus, was a younger son (the seventh or eighth) of Tolui and brother of Möngke and Qubilai. See *Successors*, 352a, Index, s.v. 'Böchek.' Cf. also HWC, 735b, id. His name is variously transcribed in the Mongol, Chinese and Persian sources as Büǰek, Böčök, Böček/Böǰek or Büček/Büǰek. See HCG, 277-278; NHHO, 153. On him, see also *Chapitre CVII*, 88-89 and n. 6, 100-103.

'You haven't yet acquired *as booty* (*olu'ai ǰö'e'ei*) even the hoof of a kid.' For *ol- + ǰö'e-* (= mo. *ǰöge-*), see above, n. 212. For the expression 'not even the hoof of a kid', cf. § 195: 'not ... even the skin of a kid's hoof.' See above, n. 195. Both expressions are descriptive of a worthless thing.

'Having left home but once.' Cf. § 239 ad fin.

For the indefinite expression *ya'u ber*, see Street 1981, 156-158. Here *ya'u ber* = 'whatever, no matter what', hence 'anything, everything.' Cf. above, n. 157.

'Come out with *such* abusive and provocative language' is my tentative rendering of the Mongolian *üge da'u ulisču ireǰü*. For the '*mot-couple*' *üge da'u* (= mo. *dayu*[*n*]), lit. 'words – sounds' = 'words' (in such compounds it is the first word that counts for the meaning), see Mo, 43. The verb *ulis-* is glossed as *jo tai* 惹帶 'to provoke and involve (someone in a quarrel)', so that the expression *üge da'u ulisču* would mean, literally, 'provoking words', i.e. 'uttering words that stir up or provoke (a quarrel).' Cf. the sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 2, 36b): 'You have left home for the first time and have *already* provoked a quarrel' (初出門便惹是非). Although the verb *ulis-* 'to provoke' has not survived as such, Written Mongolian and the modern languages and dialects have *uli-* 'to howl' (Les., 873a), which in Buriat also means 'to swear, abuse' (BRS, 468b). I think that the expression *üge da'u ulis-*, lit. 'to howl (= swear) words and sounds (= words)' may have meant something like 'to use abusive and provocative language, to heap abuse', an interpretation that agrees with both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary. For a fuller discussion, see Ra, XII, 76-77.

'Have restrained … /Have calmed … ', lit. 'Causing to restrain … /Being subject to the calming … (by Mönggei, etc.).' For this alliterative passage, see Poppe 1964, 374; Khomonov 1981, 60. For the word *šinaqa* (= mo. *sinaya*) 'ladle', a borrowing from Turkic, see TMEN, no. 1125; Khomonov 1970, 31. Cf. RH, 279, no. 12.

For the words 'Right! *This* … Harqasun', see Mo, 173, n. 156.

For an analysis of the 'legal' aspect of Ögödei's decision in the matter concerning Güyük, Büri and Harqasun, see Ratchnevsky 1987, 89-90.

§ **278**. This long section contains Ögödei's regulations concerning the organization and duties of the Guard (*kešik*). It is closely related to §§ 225-233; most of the regulations are, in fact, verbatim or almost verbatim repetitions of the ones enunciated in §§ 227, 228, 229 and 232, to which the reader is referred. As

noted by Ligeti (Li, 188, n. 278), these regulations substantially confirm those issued by Činggis Qan, the main difference being in the appointment of the new commanders. In view of the substantial identity of the old and new ordinances, the Chinese sectional summary does not repeat them, but merely states that Ögödei Qa'an reproclaimed Činggis' regulations concerning the duties of the dayguards and of the officers in conformity with the previous ones. See Y^2 Sup. 2, 46b. The entire section has been omitted in Wei, 178.

'Which announces anew' (*tungqun du'ulqaqui*). For *tungqu-* (= mo. *tungɣu-*) 'to renew, do again', see Mo, 58.

'Who have served', lit. 'who have gone (with)' (*yabuqsat*). On *yabu-* 'to be in someone's service, to serve', cf. Cleaves 1950, 124, n. 205.

'In what*ever* capacity', lit. 'how*ever*.' 'In the same capacity', lit. 'in the same manner.'

'In accordance with the previous *order*.' See § 229 for the ordinance (*qauli*) in question.

'The nightguards shall patrol' (*muqurituqai*). For the verb *muquri-* 'to patrol, go round about', see de Rachewiltz 1982a, 416-417. Cf. Chao-na-ssu-t'u 照那斯圖 (Junast) in *MTYW*, 1994. 4, 11-12.

'The nightguards shall seize anyone', lit. 'the nightguards shall seize the people.'

'They shall split their heads open.' See also § 229; cf. above, n. 255. For this passage, cf. Bese 1969, 123.

On the office of *ǰasa'ul* (= mo. *ǰasaɣul*, a dev. noun from *ǰasa-* 'to manage, be in charge'), see Vlad.^{2}, 181; *Successors*, 312-313 and n. 207; and, especially, TMEN, no. 1863.

The Qongqortai mentioned here is undoubtedly a different person from the Qongqortāi of § 277 and the Qongqortaqai mentioned further on in this section, these last two being one and the same person. See above, n. 277, and below. Širaqan does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. It is impossible to say whether the Qongqortai of § 278 is also a contraction of the name Qongqortaqai (= Qongqortaɣai); however, most scholars

are of the opinion that it is not. Cf. Da[1], 274; Га, 210; Oz[1], VI, 714; Ir, 277; Če, 264.

On the incident involving Elǰigidei (on whom see below), see § 229 ad fin., and above, n. 229. Cf. also Ligeti 1971, 147.

For the expression *ǰarliq busu ülü bolqa-* 'not to contravene the order(s)', cf. Cleaves 1953, 79, n. 10.

'One must not walk beyond (lit. "on the upper side of") the nighguards' post (lit. "seat").' By 'seat' (*sa'urin*) is meant the whole area where the guards around the Palace (*ordo*) were stationed. Cf. the slightly differently phrased passage in § 229.

'Who walk beyond or between them', lit. 'who walk beyond and who walk between the nightguards.'

'Who shall have asked their number', lit. 'who shall have asked the number of the nightguards.'

'No one is to sit above the place (lit. "seat") of the night-guards.' Cf. the slightly different passage in § 229. For the adverbs *dege'ün* 'on the upper side, above (= beyond)', and *ǰaqa'un* 'between', see Ligeti 1971, 146-147. For *qubčasun* 'clothes' = *qubčan* (§ 136), see above, n. 136.

'The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them*.' See the corresponding passage in § 232 and com.

'The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut (lit. "thick") meat.' Cf. § 232 and com.

Regarding the movements of the nightguards during a military campaign and the shifting of the encampment at the time of the great hunts, cf. the corresponding passages in §§ 232 and 233. See also Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 26.

Qada'an, the new commander of the nightguards, was one of the commanders of a thousand listed in § 202 (no. 63). According to Na[2], 279, followed by Li, 224; Mu, I, 225, n. 4; II, 382, n. 70; and Cl, 255a (Index), our Qada'an is the same person as the Qada'an Daldurqan mentioned in §§ 120, 124 and 174. However, this is unlikely, since the latter was a Tarqut (see § 120), whereas the former was, at least according to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL[2], I/2, 270), a Sönit. The name Qada'an (> Qadān) was fairly

common. See HCG, 475b, s.v. On the other hand, nothing further is known of Bulqadar (~ Bolqadar), except for a later mention (§ 279) in connection with the post-relay system under Ögödei. In the present passage his name is written Bul<a>qadar. On his name see Poppe 1975, 163. Regarding the appointment of the new officers in charge of the nightguards' companies, cf. the terminology used in § 227, which deals with Činggis Qan's appointment of commanders of the dayguards. For *qaqas* 'separately', here rendered as 'respectively', see Mo, 146, 150; cf. also above, n. 174.

We lack information concerning Amal and Čanar. In § 176 an Onggirat chief called Amel (= Emel) is mentioned, but this is beyond doubt only the second element of the name Terge Emel (cf. the Dergek Emel of § 141). See above, nn. 141 and 176.

A Qadai Güregen, son-in-law of Činggis Qan, is also listed in § 202 (no. 84). Na[2], 565 (following Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋濤) identifies our Qadai with him. Pelliot thinks that this identification is probably correct, and that the Qadai of the SH is actually the same person as the Qatai (Noyan) of the Qonggirat (= Onggirat) mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in connection with the Mongol campaign in north China in 1211-1212, and the Qatai (哈台) of the SWCCL[1], 64b (s.a. 1213). See SL[2], I/2, 168-169; Pelliot 1935, 924-925, n. 4. He may also be identified with the personage called Qatai and Qatai Noyan, a cousin of Činggis' wife Börte and, likewise, an Onggirat, who is mentioned in SL[2], I/1, 162, 163, and I/2, 271, among the commanders of a thousand of the left wing. For another Qatai, also an Onggirat, who may be considered, see Pelliot, op. cit., 925 and 930, n. 20. With regard to Qadai Güregen, see Murakami's remarks in Mu, II, 391, n. 91.

Qori Qačar, Yalbaq and Qara'udar do not seem to be known other than through this section of the SH. In the passage dealing with the last two commanders, the word *bara'un* 'right (= west)' is missing, almost certainly through scribal inadvertence. For the name Qara'udar, see Bese 1974, 92-93; Poppe 1975, 163.

'Further, the nightguards shall stand around the Palace ... and they shall lie down guarding the door.' This is an incorrect rephrasing of the corresponding regulation in § 229, which says that the nightguards lie down around the Palace and stand guarding the door. It is interesting to note that the commanders of the nightguards' companies, eight in all (four on the right side and four on the left side of the *ordo*-Palace), are new appointments: Qada'an, Amal, Qadai and Yalbaq on the right or western side, and Bulqadar, Čanar, Qori Qačar and Qara'udar on the left or eastern side. Li, 188, n. 278, has confused the sides.

For the quiverbearers Yisün Tö'e (~ Yisün Te'e), Bükidei (~ Bügidei), Horqudaq and Labalqa (~ Lablaqa), and their duties as set by Činggis Qan, see § 225. For the understanding of the relevant passage in the present section, see above n. 225, where the same passage is discussed. Thus, the commanders of the four companies of quiverbearers are the same four commanders previously appointed by Činggis and reconfirmed in office by Ögödei. For *ačit* (pl. of *ačï*) 'bodyguards', see Poppe 1967, 507-508, no. 1; Oz[1], VI, 523-524, n. 5. Cf. Street 1990a, 363 (D).

On the 'elders' (*ötögüs*), i.e. the senior officers in charge of the dayguards' companies, see § 227 and com.

Alčidai (Elčidei, Eljidei) is the only member of the 'old guard' who retained command in Ögödei's reshuffle. On him see §§ 226-227, 277 and com. Qongqortaqai is the Qongqortāi of § 277, mentioned there also in association with Alčidai. See above, n. 277. (The 'Qongqortai' in L[2], 254, and Ra, XII, 37, is an error for 'Qongqortaqai.') Temüder, Jegü and Mangqutai are all new appointments. In Činggis' reorganization of the Guard, Buqa, Alčidai, Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi were appointed 'elders' (*ötögüs*) of the four two-thousand-man strong companies of dayguards, each with two thousand men. Now we have Alčidai and Qongqortāi jointly in charge of one company, Temüder and Jegü jointly in charge of one company, and Mangqutai in charge of the reserve (*gejigele'ül*, lit. 'the supporters' =

'the auxiliaries'). Cf. above, n. 170. For the name Temüder, see Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 163.

'To consult together' (*eyetüldü-*) means 'to take joint decisions', hence 'to share command.' Cf. HW, 48: 'gemeinsam verwalten, kommandieren.' See above, nn. 36, 191.

The Elǰigidei mentioned here as the commander-in-chief of the Guard is the Elǰigedei of § 229, and the Elǰigidei mentioned in § 275 and earlier on in this section. He is the Elǰigitei of the Persian authors and the Elǰigidei of the Chinese sources, mentioned also in the 13th century western sources (as Ercalthay, Eschartay, etc. – all forms to be read Elcheltay < Elǰigidei). He succeeded Čormaqan and Baiǰu as Mongol commander in West Asia and was eventually (1251) executed by order of Möngke, together with his sons, one of whom was Harqasun. On him, see HWC, 256-257, 512, 590; *Successors*, 26, 183, 213. Cf. MPa, 116-117, 154-155, 171-175, 201-203 (esp. pp. 202-203, n. 1); RCAC, 47-48, n. 1; Poppe 1975, 162. For a locality in Mongolia at the confluence of the Khanui (Xanuĭ) and Selenga rivers associated with Elǰigidei, see BBKT, 183.

'In accordance with the previous order', i.e. with Činggis' ordinance, for which see § 227. This section, an almost verbatim repetition of the corresponding section in § 227, is translated and discussed in detail in Mo, 239-249.

For the punishment to be meted out to the elders of the companies who fail in their duties and who take advantage of their 'seniority', see also the corresponding passage in § 227 and com. Cf. Mo, 110. With regard to the legal connotations of Ögödei's ordinances, cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 8; idem 1987, 92; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

For the last ordinance in this section, cf. § 228.

Although no date is given for the reorganization of the army, it must have taken place immediately after Ögödei's enthronement in 1229-1230, together with the reform of the taxation system and the new regulations for the post-relay service on which see below, n. 279.

§ **279**. This important section contains the regulations concerning taxes and the post-relay service.

'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that our father Činggis Qa'an established with *so much* toil.' For this sentence, cf. Cleaves 1952, 94, n. 65, 100-101, n. 118.

'We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest (lit. "put down")/Their feet upon the ground,/Their hands upon the earth.' This is a popular Mongol saying describing a state of rest: both hands and feet on the ground, i.e. no motion, no work or toil. Cf. MCÜD, I, 22, no. 908: *Gar gazar*, *Xöl xösör*, with identical meaning. Cf. also the various examples given in Cl, 223-224, n. 103; and in WG, 111-112, n. 6. To these we must add the passage in the 'Holy Činggis Qaγan's Precepts to His Younger Brothers and Sons', in which Ögödei uses the same figures of speech, thus ultimately echoing the words of the SH. See MX, 57, lines 6-7; Kotvič 1923, 95. Cf. also Cėrėnsodnom 1986, 76.

'Sitting *now* on *the throne made* ready by Our father the Qa'an', i.e. by Činggis Qan. See § 271 and com. for this expression.

'For *Our* soup' (*šülen-e*). On the term *šülen*, see above, n. 124, and the discussion in Smith 1970, 68. Here the 'soup' (= sustenance, support) of the Qa'an is meant, i.e. the contribution that each owner of a flock of sheep was under obligation to give to the emperor, hence its placing as the first item of taxation. This new levy of one sheep (a year) out of every flock (of one hundred sheep) must have been a lighter burden compared to previous exactions of which we have no record. Next comes the contribution – also one sheep out of a hundred – to the poor 'belonging to the unit on which the owners of these sheep depend' (Mostaert *apud* Cl, 224, n. 104).

'Poor and needy' (*üge'ün duta'un*). For this expression, see Ligeti 1971, 145. On the early Mongol taxation system, see ESYD, 65ff.; Schurmann 1951; idem 1956; Smith 1970; MSKK, 116ff.; CEME, 56 and n. 44; and above, n. 151. The new tributes and levies imposed on the Mongols themselves in the

steppe were followed soon after (1230-31) by a fiscal system devised by the Sino-Mongol administration specifically for the people of north China. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1966, 103-105, and n. 132; KIPMX, 72-73.

'The numerous troops (= officers)', lit. 'many men – geldings.' For this '*mot-couple*', see above, nn. 239, 260. Cf. Mo, 132, n. 129.

'Mare-milkers' renders the Mongolian *sa'arinčintan*, plural of *sa'arinčin* (from *sa'arin* 'milch mare'). 'Herders of milch mares' renders *unuqučin* on the basis of the Chinese gloss. For these two terms, cf. DO, 563a, 736a; *Ordosica*, 36, nos. 147 and 34 respectively. The term for 'campmasters' used here is *nuntučitan*, which is actually *nuntūčitan* (< *nuntu'učitan* < *nuntuɣučitan*), and not *nuntu[q]čitan* as stated in Pe, 118, n. 3; L^2, 256; R, 171, 275b; and Ra, X, 57, n. 232. See above, n. 232.

'*Gold and silver* ingots', lit. 'axes' (*sükes*). In 13th and 14th century Mongolian, the term *süke* was the regular designation for 'ingot', either gold (*altan süke*) or silver (*menggü süke*). Thus, the Chinese gloss *yin-ting* 銀錠 'silver ingot' is too restrictive. See Cleaves 1950, 118, n. 123. 'The land-tax grains', lit. 'the granaries' (*sang'ut*, pl. of *sang* < ch. *ts'ang* 倉 'granary') = 'the granary tax.' See MMḤS, 83, Note 10; Schurmann 1951, 301, 305; idem 1956, 364. The reading *tsangūd* (for *sang'ut*) in Oz^1, VI, 526, 534, n. 6, is not justified in view of the fact that ch. *ts'ang* 倉 is regularly transcribed as *sang*, not *tsang*, in the early Mongolian monuments in Uighur script. Cf. Cleaves 1951, 63b; idem 1954, 66a. The term *sang* corresponds here to *qan-u sang amu* 'grain for the government granary.'

For the expression *ulus irgen* 'people', lit. 'nation (*or* state) – people', cf. Cleaves 1983, 44, n. 32; idem 1996, 21, n. 142; Fletcher 1986, 37. For *nuntuq usu* 'camps (= grazing grounds) and water' i.e. pastures and water resources, cf. Fletcher, loc. cit.

'That will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*', lit. 'will it *not* do?'

For the Čöl (lit. 'Desert') = the Gobi, see above, § 188 and com. Here the term is perhaps used in a more general sense ('the desert country'), as the word *qaǰar* following it seems to indicate. Some scholars have opted for the latter interpretation, which is however at variance with the interlinear gloss. See Do[1], 416; Oz[1], VI, 530; Ev-Pop, 245.

Čanai of the Uru'ut was last mentioned in § 234. On him, see § 226 and com. Ui'urtai (w.f. Uyiγurtai), i.e. 'the Uighur', was the son of Qutluq Buqa and grandson of Körgüz (= George), the commander of Khorasan. He came from a Christian (Nestorian) Uighur family. See *Successors*, 26, 141, and 359b, s.v. 'Körgüz.' For his name cf. also above, n. 198.

'For people *to live in this* rather vast *area*' (*irgen-e aqui-a saqut*), lit. 'for people, rather widely.' For *saqut* (= mo. *suγud*) 'a little, somewhat', cf. DO, 633b. The interpretation of this sentence is based on the paraphrase in the Chinese sectional summary (see Y[2] Sup. 2, 51a; Pa, 158; Wei, 179; cf. Oz[1], VI, 530, and Oz[2], II, 235), but the text is not very clear and can be interpreted in other ways. See, for example, Li, 137 ('in order to give somewhat wider possibilities to the inhabitants').

For *quduq* (= mo. *quduγ*) 'well', see TMEN, no. 272; RH, 245, no. 3.

The second half of § 279 and part of § 280 are devoted to the Mongol post-relay service (*ǰam*), on which see the rather unsatisfactory work by P. Olbricht (PCUM), which relies heavily on Haneda Tōru's fundamental investigation of the subject (GEZ), a subject of extreme interest and importance, and far from being exhausted (Olbricht's work must be regarded merely as an introduction to it). For the relevant sections, see PCUM, 40-42, 60, 78. Cf. also Pėrlėė 1962, 32ff.; Ch'en Kao-hua 陳高華 in *YSLT* 2:1983, 125ff.; and YShi, 151-153. On the term *ǰam* (tu. *yam*) < ch. *chan* 站 'post-relay station', see TMEN, no. 1812; HCWLYTT, 20-26, no. 5.

For *ha'ul-* 'to ride in haste', see above, n. 54.

'Moving freely among the population' renders the Mongolian *ulus bitü'ülün*, lit. 'making *them* roam about the

people', i.e. riding freely through populated areas. The abuses by the 'messengers' (*elčin*), i.e. by the couriers and envoys on official business to which the local population was constantly subjected under the Mongols are well known, and Ögödei's new regulations outlined in this section, issued immediately after his enthronement in 1229 (see SWCCL[1], 80a; YS[2] 2, 29; PCUM, 40), were in fact designed to check such abuses.

'The pace', lit. 'the going' (*yabudal*).

For the expression *oqo'ata oroši'ul-* 'to settle matters once and for all', see 'Trois documents', 476.

'By providing', lit. 'bringing forth.'

J̌amučin and *ula'ačin* are the plurals of *ǰamuči* (= mo. *ǰamči*) and *ula'ači* (= mo. *ulaɣači*[*n*], *ulaɣči*[*n*]) respectively. On the term *ǰamuči* 'person in charge of a post-relay station', see ibid., 438; TMEN, no. 1814; HCWLYTT, 20-26, no. 5; Cleaves 1953, 83, n. 19; *Lettres*, 40. For *ula'ači* 'person in charge of post horses' (from *ula'a* 'post horse'; see above, n. 199), see TMEN, no. 617; 'Trois documents', 440-441; Ligeti 1958, 222, n. 17; HCWLYTT, 50-57, no. 13; Ting Kuo-fan 丁國范 in *YSLT* 1:1982, 197-199.

'At every stage', lit. '*at* stopping-places and stopping-places' (*sa'urit sa'urit*). In § 280, the word *sa'urit* (pl. of *sa'uri*[*n*], mo. *saɣuri*[*n*]) occurs in the form *sa'urint*. Cf. the forms *hont*, *qonint*, *qadunt* for *hot*, *qonit*, *qadut* (= *qatut*), etc. See above, nn. 118, 198, 264. Cf. Poppe 1975, 167.

'Unless on urgent business', lit. 'without importance' (*qadaqa* [= pmo. *qadaya*] *ügei*), i.e. without having important (= urgent) matters. For this expression, cf. KW, 158b.

'If We do this, it will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*', lit. 'If, providing … will it *not* do?'

Bolqadar is the same person called Bulqadar in § 278.

'We considered that they were indeed right', lit. '*We* thought, saying *to Ourselves*, "Are they *not* right?"' – a rhetorical question.

'These measures under discussion', lit. 'the acts which are spoken of.'

'You have asked me in your message', lit. 'you have sent asking.'

'Thus, act *accordingly*!', lit. 'And so do!' For this passage, cf. Street 1986, 9; VG, 90.

'I shall have post stations connecting with (lit. "facing") *yours*.' For the expression *ǰamut barildu'ul-* (= pmo. *ǰamud barilduyul-*) 'to connect post stations', see *Lettres*, 74.

Ügüleǰü ire-, lit. 'to come speaking', describes the action of the speaker, whether the action is carried out in person ('he came and spoke') or, as here, through someone else ('his message *or* word came').

§ **280**. For the princes of the right hand (= west), the left hand (= east), and of the centre (*qol*), see above, § 269 and com.

'Have all together approved the following: "If ... ."', lit. 'have all together (*büri-yer*) approved. At the moment when they approved, when they said, "If ... ."' For *büri-yer* (pmo. *büriyer*; mo. *büri-ber*) 'all together', cf. *Lettres*, 76-77. Further on, I render *büri-yer ele* more emphatically as 'unanimously.' Cf. Street 1986, 17 (28).

'The Universal Ruler.' The text has *dalai-yin qa'an*, where *qa'an* is a later editorial change, the original text reading *dalai-yin qan*, as in the legend of Güyük's seal. *Dalai-yin qan* means 'ruler of *all within* the seas', i.e. 'ruler of the whole world' (= ger. *Weltherrscher*). For a critical discussion of this designation of the Mongol emperors, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 274ff. Cf. also ČK, 82-83, n. 2; and M. Weiers in *MS* 36:1984-85, 683.

'It won't be *a burden* at all', lit. 'what is it?', i.e. nothing at all. ('Ce n'est rien du tout' [A.M.].) For the levy in question and the subsequent measures mentioned in this section, see above, § 279 and com. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 68-69.

'One-year-old sheep' (*ǰusaq*). The term *ǰusaq* (= mo. *ǰusay*) in Written Mongolian means 'between two and three years old (of female sheep, goat or deer)' (Les., 1080b). Cf. DO, 221a.

For the rare word *ilübte* (< **ilüb* 'advantage, convenience' + den. noun suff. *-te*) 'convenient', see de Rachewiltz 1982, 52, n. 4. Cf. Cleaves 1982, 78, n. 19. (It should be pointed out, however, that the reading *ilübteken* of the *Hsiao-ching* adopted by both authors should be amended, the correct reading almost certainly being *ilübtegen* (= pmo. *ilübdegen*). For the den. noun suff. *-yan/-gen*, cf. 'Trois documents', 452-453.)

'Herders of milch mares were *also* assigned', lit. 'they made herders of milch mares sit *over them*.' Cf. ch. *tso* 坐 'to sit; to assign.'

'The distance between each stage', lit. 'the distance (*qaǰar*, see § 4 and com.) of stage after stage.'

Aračan (阿𠺘剌淺): Pelliot has 'Araǰän' and 'Aračan?' (Pe, 119 and n. 3); Haenisch (Ha, 146): 'Aratsen'; Olbricht (PCUM, 41 and n. 86): 'Aračin'; Ligeti (Li, 138): 'Aracsan' (= Aračan), but 'Araǰan' in the text edition (L^2, 258); Cleaves (Cl, 226): 'Arasen'; Ozawa (Oz^1, VI, 543): 'Aračan'; Onon (On [2001 ed.], 276), and Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 312, n. 71): 'Arajan'; etc. (see Ir, 284-285, n. 1). These differences are essentially due to a certain confusion arising from the value of the character 淺 of the Chinese transcription. This character is ambivalent and can be read *ch'ien* (< *ts'ian*) and *chien* (< *tsian*). Cf. Ba, III, 'Chu-yin tzu-tien 注音字典', 160. The original form of this name in the manuscript of the SH in Uighur-Mongol script was in all probability Aračan/Araǰan – the letters *č* and *ǰ* being identically written in such a position. The Ming transcribers, to whom this name did not mean anything, could not decide which way to read the final syllable: *čan* or *ǰan*. In my opinion, they chose for the purpose a Chinese character presenting the same ambiguity, viz. 淺, which I believe occurs only in this instance in the SH. (It is not even included in the 'exhaustive' list in Hattori 1973.) 淺 may, in fact, be used to render both Mongolian *čan* and *ǰan* in a back-vocalic word as is the case here, and *čen* and *ǰen* in a front-vocalic one (cf. the character *yen* 顏 = *yan/yen*). It is difficult to determine whether the original name was Aračan or

Araǰan, hence my reading Aračan is given with reservations; in any case, I would definitely exclude Aratsen, Aračin and Arasen from consideration. Some scholars have tried to identify Aračan or Araǰan with the A-li-hsien 阿里鮮 of the HYC, A, 11a-b et passim. See TOA, 59, n. 2, 161a (Index); Mu, III, 371-372, n. 13. However, as pointed out by Pelliot in his review of Waley's book, there is no real justification for it. See *TP* 28:1931, 419. A-li-hsien is apparently the transcription of a Tangut name. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 189, n. 280), Aračan's colleague Toqučar is not the homonymous grandson of Ögödei, but the Toqučar of § 257, on whom see above, n. 257. The appointment of these two officials as functionaries in charge of the post-relay system under Ögödei, and the changes to the system introduced by the latter, must be placed s.a. 1234, as correctly surmised by Olbricht (PCUM, 40-41). It should be noted in this connection that the credit for the important measures designed to curb the abuses of government couriers is ascribed to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, s.a. 1237, by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 (1187-1267) in his funerary inscription (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑) for Yeh-lü. See KIPMX, 81. I have discussed these measures in de Rachewiltz 1960, 428-432, n. 271.

For the items listed in Ögödei's ordinance (geldings, sheep, milch mares, etc.), see *Lettres*, 441; and Mo, 223, n. 209.

'From the amount fixed', lit. 'from the limit measured' (*kemleksen kem-eče*).

For *ši'üsün* (= mo. *sigüsü*[*n*]) 'provisions', cf. above, n. 199. On this term, see TMEN, nos. 238, 239; and HCWLYTT, 293-298, n. 103.

The poetic passage presents serious difficulties of interpretation. I have followed the one proposed by Mostaert (Mo, 146-149, n. 144), except that I regard *orqol* = *orgil* 'top', and the gloss *nao hsiang* 惱項 as a mistake for *nao ting* 惱頂 'top of the head.' Both these suggestions were proposed by Mostaert himself, ibid., 147. 'A piece of string', lit. 'a short cord.' For *bugi* 'rope, cord', cf. Mo, 37. As for the puzzling word *orqol*,

Onon (On, 172, and n. 378; cf. the 2001 ed., 277 and n. 682), following TH, 127 (= ǰYT, 222), renders it as 'right down the centre' by splitting *orqol* into two distinct words: *ör* 'pit of the stomach; heart', and *qol* 'central, centre.' Cf. Oz[1], VI, 543, 545. This, however, cannot be reconciled with the Chinese gloss, whether one reads *nao hsiang* or *nao ting*. For *qalbuqa* (= mo. *qalbuɣa*, *qalbaɣa*) 'spoon', see TMEN, no. 1393; RH, 279, no. 13. In his translation of this passage (Cl, 226-227), Cleaves follows Mostaert's interpretation, while Ligeti (Li, 138) follows Haenisch's (Ha, 146-147), on which see Mo, 147-148. I think that Mostaert is correct in seeing in the two parallel Mongol sentences a figure of speech expressing the idea of halving the possessions of the offender, one half going to the government as penalty for the offence, the other half being retained by the offender himself. As pointed out by Mostaert, the sectional summary clearly states (Y[2] Sup. 2, 54b) that the penalty was the confiscation, by the government, of half the culprit's patrimony (家財一半沒官).

§ **281**. Conclusion of the section on Ögödei with a sort of apology and self-criticism of the Qa'an which smacks of a posthumous assessment and has, therefore, a bearing also on the date of compilation of the SH. For this question, see below, n. 282.

The term ǰaqut has been discussed by Pelliot in NMP, I, 228-229. Cf. Li, 189, n. 281; Oz[1], VI, 554-555, n. 1; Nakamura & Matsukawa 1993, 66-67; Ev-Pop, 312-313, n. 73. In spite of Pelliot's explanation, and of other interpretations, its etymology remains doubtful; but it is most likely that, as Pelliot claims, this term is a borrowing from Kitan. There is not much doubt, however, as to its meaning. The Chinese gloss is *Chin jen* 金人 'the Chin people', i.e. 'the Jurchen people' of north China, or *sensu lato* 'the people of Chin', i.e. the inhabitants of the (former) Chin kingdom, *including* the northern Chinese. Elsewhere in the SH, the Jurchen people of China and the Chin dynasty are called 'the Kitat (people)', and the Chin ruler 'the Altan ("Golden" = Chin 金) Qan of the Kitat people.' See Cl,

230a-b, 247a (Index). We also find the name J̌ürčet, plural of J̌ürčen (§§ 247, 248, 253, 274). The term Kitat, plural of Kitan, could only apply to the people and region of north China formerly ruled by the Kitan/Liao and later by the Jurchen/Chin, and would therefore not apply, for instance, to the Tangut/Hsi Hsia. On the other hand, the term J̌aqut (? a plural of J̌aqun), even though it is glossed *Chin jen* in the SH, was actually an inclusive one designating *all* the people and regions of north China. This is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, who says (*Successors*, 225): 'The Jauqut (= the J̌aqut of the SH – I.R.) consist of [the people of] Khitai (i.e. the northern Chinese – I.R.), Tangqut, Jürche (= J̌ürčen – I.R.), and Solangqa (i.e. the Koreans – I.R.), which regions are called Jauqut by the Mongols.'

'And I destroyed them', lit. 'and I destroyed the J̌aqut people.'

'All necessities', lit. 'needs and necessities' (*kerek ǰaraq*).

For Ögödei's ordinance concerning the digging of wells in the Čöl, see above, § 279 and com. For the establishment of scouts (*alginčin*) and garrison troops (*tammačin*) in the conquered cities, see § 273.

'Causing them to rest/Their feet upon the ground, etc.': cf. § 279.

'Being placed on the great throne by my father the Qa'an and being made to take upon myself (lit. "to carry on my back": *ačiǰu ottaǰu*) the burden of his many peoples.' Cf. Tolui's words to the sick Ögödei in § 272. For the expression *ačiǰu ottaǰu* (= mo. *odtaǰu*), cf. H, 124, n. 281 (5); and Poppe 1964, 370 (where '218' is a printing error for '281'). However, in view of the above-mentioned passage in § 272, I wonder whether *ottaǰu* is not a mistake for *ökdeǰü*, even though the Chinese gloss does not support the amendment as it does in § 272.

'By wine', lit. 'by grape wine' (*bor darasun-a*). There is ample evidence that Ögödei was inordinately fond of wine, eventually dying of alcoholism at the age of fifty-five in 1241. For the Chinese sources, see KIPMX, 83, 121, n. 197, 124, n. 206, 193-194, 198. For the Persian sources, see HWC, 197-200,

214; *Successors*, 65-66, 83; cf. D'Ohsson, II, 85-86. Our text specifies that it was grape wine (*bor darasun*), rather than the Turco-Mongolian traditional drink kumis (mo. *esüg* ~ *üsüg*, *ayiray*, *taray*). In the expression *bor darasun*, the first element *bor* < uig. *bor* < mpers. *bōr* < gr. βότρυς 'grape wine.' See ED, 354a; Pelliot 1914a; Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 164; Huang SC 1988, 167; Zieme 1997, 436-438; MNTK, 235; RH, 296, no. 16. The second element *darasun* means 'wine (from grain)' = ch. *chiu* 酒. See TMEN, no. 197; RCAC, 149; HCWLYTT, 234-237, no. 73; Huang SC 1984, 213; idem 1988, 166; RH, 81, no. 29. For the passage in the SH, cf. also Mostaert 1927, 146 and n. 2. (However, I am of the opinion that Ögödei's portrait to which Mostaert refers was painted much later, the artist deliberately making him look like a drunkard.) Grape wine was sent as tribute to the Mongol court from central and western Asia, as well as from north China (Shansi). See SI, 234-237; Pelliot 1927a, 278; and CEME, 42.

The second 'fault' of Ögödei concerns his unlawful seizure of girls from the *ulus* of his uncle Temüge Otčigin, this action having been prompted by the advice of an 'unprincipled' (*yosu ügei*; for this expression, cf. Cleaves 1953, 73, n. 12) woman. Who the woman was we do not know, but the event in question may well be related, as suggested by Naka (Na^2, 579-580,) to an entry in YS^2 2, 35, and to an unedifying episode recorded by J̌uvainī (known to Naka through D'Ohsson, II, 98). The YS entry says: 'In the sixth month (of the ninth year of T'ai-tsung = 24 June-23 July 1237), the tribes of the left wing spread a groundless rumour about a requisition of women. The Emperor was angry at it and, having ordered to requisition them, made presents of them to his officers.' The Emperor (T'ai-tsung) is, of course, Ögödei. In J̌uvainī (HWC, 235-236) we read the following: 'Among the tribe of . . .,[66] who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that [191] it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they

actually delivered up to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go there and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens ... were thus assembled. ... And first he ordered those who were the daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the *ordu*, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers. As for those that still remained it was decreed that all present, whether Mongols or Moslems, might carry them off. And their fathers, brothers, relatives, kinsmen and husbands looked on and were unable to breathe or move their tongues. And this is an absolute proof of his rigid enforcement of his orders and of the obedience of his army.' In note 66 on p. 235 we read: 'There is a blank in A and B. D has "the Oirat", which does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote (Blochet, 84) the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.' For Rašīd's version, see *Successors*, 93-94. There is no doubt, I think, that the YS entry refers to the same event related by J̌uvainī. The YS notice records also that the event took place among the tribes of the left wing, and we know that Temüge Otčigin's *ulus* was situated in the northeastern corner of Mongolia and was thus comprised in the left (= eastern) wing group of tribes. Naka is probably right in relating the events recorded in these sources; however, to connect this episode with the one in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's biography (YS^2 146, 3461) concerning an

order for the requisition of women for Ögödei's harem is, in my opinion, unwarranted.

Regarding the third 'fault', we have no other evidence to go by. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 189, n. 281), while Rašīd al-Dīn mentions the military activity of Doqolqu, i.e. Doqolqu Čerbi of the Mangqut tribe (on whom see the SH, § 120 et passim), during the reign of Ögödei, there is no mention of his having been executed by order of Ögödei. See *Successors*, 36, 38, 167. Nevertheless, this seems to have been the case if we rely on the statement that he was 'secretly harmed', i.e. killed. There is no doubt that 'harmed' is synonymous with 'killed.' See above, §§ 67 and 68, from which we learn that the surreptitious harm was caused by poison. Since the same expression is used in connection with Doqolqu, we may assume (but only assume) that the same method was employed to dispose of him. In the interlinear version, the verb *kegesüle-* is glossed *yin-hai* 陰害, lit. 'to secretly harm', and is rendered 'to secretly harm because of a personal grudge' (因私恨陰害) in the sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 2, 58a). In § 67 we find the noun *kegesü*, meaning 'enmity, grievance', in connection with the poisoning of Temüǰin's father Yisügei by the Tatars. See above, nn. 67, 68. In § 67 we also find the verb *oyisulat-* glossed *an-huai* 暗懷 'to harbour secret thoughts (of hate, revenge).' The same verb in the passive voice *oyisulaqda-* occurs in § 68 glossed *pei yin-hai* 被陰害 'to be secretly harmed.' However, *oyisulaqda-* presupposes *oyisula-*, not *oyisulat-*. In § 245 we again find *oyisulat-* glossed 'to secretly harm', and in the present section the form *öyisület-* occurs with the same meaning. The verbs *oyisula-*, *oyisulat-* (w.f. *oyisulad-*), *öyisület-* (w.f. *öyisüled-*) are not found in our dictionaries (cf. Mo, 157), and *kegesüle-* is registered only with the meaning of 'to furnish with or make spokes' (Les., 443a). Thus, in § 281 both *kegesüle-* and *öyisület-* are glossed *yin-hai*, and must therefore be regarded as synonyms. However, in view of the fact that the text uses two different words with the same meaning, I have rendered *kegesüle-* (the 'kesesüle-' of L^2, 259,

is a printing error) with 'to secretly injure', and *öyisület-* with 'to secretly harm.' As stated in nn. 67 and 68 above, the latter verb is ultimately derived from *öš* 'hate, revenge.' Cf. mo. *öš, ösi-, ösiye-, ösiyele-* (Les., 645a), and SH *ösö-* 'to avenge' (HW, 128, s.v. 'osügu'). In view of combinations like *ösöl ösöǰü kisal kisaǰu* 'taking revenge and requiting the wrong' (§§ 58, 154) and *öš kiš* 'hatred and resentment' in *öšten kišten* (§ 136), one may postulate a similar relationship between *öyisüle(t)-* and *kegesüle-* with semantic roots in the concept of 'hatred, revenge' from which the meaning of 'to harm, injure' has subsequently evolved. This problem requires further investigation.

'And why was it a fault?', lit. 'If one says, "Why a fault?"'

'Who strove (*or* fought) fiercely.' Cf. above, n. 254.

'My father the Qan.' The later editor(s) who methodically went through the SH changing *qan* into *qa'an* missed this occurrence, almost certainly because it comes at the end of the work and close to another occurrence. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 276; and above, n. 255. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 120, n. 149 ad fin. On Ögödei's 'fault and mistake' of having Doqolqu killed, see idem 1987, 102.

There is also no direct additional evidence concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault', i.e. the fencing in of his hunting grounds to prevent game from straying into his brothers' territory. Here the wild animals are also referred to as 'having a destiny *ordained* by Heaven and Earth' – their destiny being, no doubt, to serve as quarry for the emperor's battues. On the extended concept of the destiny (*ǰaya'an*) preordained by Heaven and Earth, cf. above, n. 1. Cf. also Mo, xiv, for the present passage. Ögödei is made to say that he did that out of greed (*qaram*). This is strange in view of the reputation he had, and which is so amply recorded, of generosity and liberality unequalled by any other Mongol ruler. On the other hand, we also know that the animals reserved for the great winter hunt were almost sacred, and that severe penalties were meted out to anyone breaking the rules. See, e.g., HWC, 27-28. J̌uvainī also mentions the construction by Ögödei of a wall of wood and clay between

north China and his winter quarters, with gates set into it 'so that much game might enter it from a great distance', and how Chaghatai (= Ča'adai) constructed similar hunting grounds in the valley of the Ili. This piece of information may perhaps be related to the problem of boundaries and the issue concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault.' See ibid., 29. For the words *quru'a yo'urqa nödü'üljü*, lit. 'making one build fences (*quru'a*; mo. *qoroya*, see Kow., 963b) and walls of *pounded* earth (*yo'urqa*; see above, n. 203)', cf. Cleaves 1949, 112, n. 95.

'Confining them', lit. 'hindering (*or* blocking) *them*' (*ǰetgüǰü*).

'Resentful words' (*čimaliqai üge*). See above, n. 260. On the location of Ögödei's winter quarters, see Boyle 1974, 148-150. On Ögödei's character, see HWC, 198, 201-236; *Successors*, 76-93; D'Ohsson, II, 87-99; and above, n. 255.

This section ends the short portion of the SH devoted to Ögödei. There is no mention of his death, but (as stated earlier) the description of his positive accomplishments and of his major 'faults' seems to be a posthumous assessment. The work thus comes to an abrupt and rather unsatisfactory conclusion. See Section Two of the Introduction.

§ **282**. The short colophon of the SH is more problem-ridden than any other passage of this work, confirming the old saying that the tail is the most difficult part of the animal to skin. To which Great Assembly (*yeke qurilta*) does the text refer? Which Year of the Rat? Does *bičiǰü da'usba* mean the end of the writing = composition, or the end of the writing = copying? And who did the writing? Does the indication of the locality in the text contain a lacuna? Indeed, more has been written on the colophon of the SH than on any other section of the work.

With regard to the year of 'writing' and the authorship of the SH, see Sections Two and Three of the Introduction. I have restated (and updated) there my earlier argument that the colophon applies to the main body of the work (§§ 1-268) – the remaining portion of the SH about Ögödei's reign (§§ 269-281)

being a later addition – and that the Year of the Rat (*quluqana ǰil*) must consequently be 1228. The Great Assembly was, in my view, that which eventually elected Ögödei in 1229, i.e. the one mentioned in § 269 of the SH when all the princes and military leaders 'assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral of (= on) the Kelüren *River*.' The 'month of the Roebuck' (*quran sara*) is the seventh month (see Mo, 262, n. 252), thus the date of the colophon would correspond to 2-31 August 1228, exactly one year after Činggis' death. (For *quran sara* and the Mongol calendar, see also Clark 1998, 46ff.; MSR, 177-179; for the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, cf. V. Rybatzki's study in the Add. & Corr.) The great or general assembly (*yeke qurilta*) is the natural development of the earlier great council (*yeke eye*) mentioned in § 154. The assembly that elected Činggis Qan in 1206 was undoubtedly also a (*yeke*) *qurilta*. For this fundamental institution, see MSK, 361-449; Endicott-West 1986; Fletcher 1986, 26; Haider 1994. The term *qurilta* is a deverbal noun in *-lta(/-lte)* from *quri-* 'to gather, assemble.' See GWM, 47, § 163; MÜIT, 2687a-b, no. 260. It alternates with *quriltai* (for *qurilta ~ quriltai*, cf. SG, 295-299, § 159). The same phenomenon is observed in the Turkic languages where this word is a borrowing from Mongolian. See TMEN, no. 305. The form in *-i*, current in the western Mongol empire, gained predominance in Persian and Turkic and is the one generally used in the West, whereas in the later Mongolian literary language and dialects *quriltai*, as well as *qurilta*, have disappeared, being replaced by *qural* (< *qura-* 'to gather, assemble' [= pmo. *quri-*] + dev. noun suff. *-l*; see GWM, 47, § 159). Cf. Oz[1], VI, 560-562, n. 1. In our passage I have used 'convened' instead of 'was assembled' to avoid a phonetic clash with 'Assembly.'

With regard to the place where the *ordos* ('Palaces'), i.e. the imperial encampment, was pitched in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat and where the work was completed, Naka (Na[2], 586) and Haenisch (Ha, 148), disregarding the fact that the name Dolo'an Boldaq is in the dative-locative case (*Dolo'an Boldaq-*

a), understood the passage as meaning that the place in question was situated between the two (*qoyar ǰa'ura*) localities called Dolo'an Boldaq and Šilginček. Kozin, for his part, rendered *Dolo'an Boldaq-a* correctly, but in order to retain the 'two' localities of which the text speaks, he split Šilginček into 'Šil'gim' (a printing error for 'Šil'gin') and 'Cek' (Ko, 199). Mostaert (Mo, 258-261), in his brilliant analysis of the colophon, demonstrated the inaccuracy of both Haenisch's and Kozin's interpretations, and showed at the same time that there must be a lacuna in the text immediately after 'Šilginček', the name of the second locality having dropped out in the course of transmission of the Chinese text. Ligeti did not accept Mostaert's argument and followed Haenisch's interpretation, claiming that the misunderstanding derives from the fact that '*boldaka*' (= *boldaqa*) is a simple scribal error for '*boldak*' (= *boldaq*), since in Uighur script it is a common mistake for a scribe to add or leave out a 'tooth', i.e. the little horizontal stroke representing the letters *a*, *e*, *n*, etc. See Li, 189, n. 282. In the present instance, however, it is not a question of an additional 'tooth' turning *boldaq* into *boldaqa*. As pointed out by Mostaert, the Ming translators noted the dative-locative suffix *-a*, which they duly rendered with *hsing* 行; the word in Uighur-Mongol script must, therefore, have been written as *boldaq-a*, i.e. with the final *-a* separated from the body of the word, and not as *boldaqa*. Moreover, they were familiar with the word *boldaq* (= mo. *boldaγ*), which they regularly glossed *ku-shan* 孤山 'solitary (= isolated) hill' in the interlinear version, as they had already done before (§ 88). Thus, even if the suffix *-a* had been joined directly to the word, which is unlikely, they would not have misunderstood it – a fact confirmed, after all, by the very presence of the 行. Therefore, one must agree with Mostaert (op. cit., 259, n. 246) that 'Il n'est pas possible de supposer que *boldaγ-a* du colophon de l'*Hist. Secr.* soit dû à une faute du scribe qui avait copié le mss. qu'utilisèrent plus tard les transcripteurs des Ming, et que ces mêmes transcripteurs, non

seulement n'auraient pas remarqué la faute, mais auraient encore pris cette forme fautive pour un locatif.' Haenisch's interpretation has been followed (among others) by Damdinsürèn, Murakami, Yao and Jagchid, and, more recently, Doronatib, Eldengtei and Ardaǰab, Mansang, Gaadamba, and Cėrėnsodnom. Cleaves, as well as Taube, Even and Pop, Street, and I have followed Mostaert's interpretation. Ozawa at first adopted also the latter with reservations (Oz[1], VI, 560, 563-564, n. 3), but subsequently modified it following an earlier (1994) interpretation by the Inner Mongolian scholar Bürinbatu who sees in the word 'Šilginčeg' *two* place-names (as Kozin did), these being 'Šilgin' and '(Če)čeg' (Oz[2], II, 239-240, 254-255, n. 2). In similar fashion, Onon, after adopting Mostaert's interpretation (On, 173), revised it in his later version (2001 ed., 278), where he rendered the words *Šilginčeg qoyar ǰa'ura* as 'between two [places called] Shilginchek.[688]' In note 688 on the same page, Onon writes: '*Shilgincheck*, here used (by way of exception) as a place-name, meant a high, narrow hill. For the explanation "between two Shilgincheks", see the article by Bürinbatu in the Academic Journal of the University of Inner Mongolia, no. 4 (1994), pp. 66-70.' (For the meaning of Šilginček see below.)

The writing of the SH was then completed and, presumably, also carried out at Dolo'an Boldaq, which is the same locality mentioned in § 136 in the plural form Dolo'an Bolda'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills'), at Köde'e Aral (the Ködö'e Aral of § 136 and Köde'ü Aral of § 269) or 'Barren Island' – one of the great historic sites of Mongolia. Köde'e Aral and the seven hills which have given the name to the place have been positively identified; see above n. 136. Mostaert (op. cit., 260) regards 'Šilginčeg' as a Mongolian compound name 'Šilgin-čeg' meaning 'la colline où il croît de la rue des montagnes', i.e. 'Mountain Rue Hill.' This is an ingenious interpretation indirectly supported by the name Tülkinče'üt = Tülkin Če'üt, plural of *Tülkin Ček, which appears in § 190. However, in the MA, 407a, we find the Turkic word *silkinček* meaning 'neck amulet', and this may well be the same word written *šilginček* in the SH.

Other interpretations are possible (for instance on the basis of Kalmuck), but whatever the meaning of this word, it would appear from the context that Šilginček or Šilgin Ček was the name of one of the seven hills, and that the lacuna in the text contained the name of another locality in the same area: it was between these two places that the *ordos* were established at the time. Having personally inspected this area in August 1997, I am no longer of the opinion that the missing name must be that of another of the seven hills, as I somewhat rashly stated in Ra, XII, 92, n. 282. The situation of these hills is, in fact, such as to preclude the possibility of establishing a large encampment 'between' them. See the map in Damdinsurėn 1974, 107; and my report in de Rachewiltz 1998, 251-254. Starting from the (wrong) premise that the *ordos* were between Dolo'an Boldaq and Šilginček, Pėrlėė, and J. Schubert after him, situated the latter place in the area of present-day Zamagtaĭ Nuur, in the plain behind, i.e. north of, the seven hills, bordering on the Avargyn Gol. See Pėrlėė[2], 7 (= Pėrlėė[4], 92); RBC, 110; and Schubert 1966, 55-56. But why would the author of the colophon, who, like most of his contemporaries was undoubtedly well acquainted with this area, feel the need to specify more in detail where the camp was established when Dolo'an Boldaq would have been sufficient, given the reference to Köde'e Aral? As I wrote in my report (p. 253), the only reason I can give for this additional localization is that Köde'e Aral comprised a much larger area than generally supposed, and that its present limits must be pushed much further to the west and to the north, thus encompassing the entire steppe plain (*köde'e*) between the Bayan Uul, the Xėrlėn (Kerulen) and Cėnxėr (Senggür) rivers. See above, n. 136. It is only when placed in this much broader geographical context that the author of the colophon would have felt the need to be more specific as to the exact spot where the *ordos* were *at that particular time* during the long assembly. As we know, it was the custom of the *qans* and their entourage to move camp frequently because of pasture requirements. In August of that year, i.e. at the height of

summer, the encampment had been pitched somewhere between Šilginček and another locality, probably somewhere further east. This was the conclusion I reached in 1998. I would only add that, in my present view, the *ordos* set up in 1228-1229 at Köde'e Aral were almost certainly east of Šilginček, i.e. of Dolo'an Boldaq, and that the localization proposed by Pèrlèè could still be valid if pushed somewhat further to the south, i.e. to the area between the seven hills and the Avargyn Gol.

As to the question of whether the last two words of the colophon (*bičijü da'usba*) mean that the text of the SH was 'written' or 'copied', Waley's objection (in Waley 1960, 529) that the Chinese sectional summary (Y^2 Sup. 2, 58b) by using the verb *hsieh* 寫 indicates that the text was not composed, but merely 'copied' in the Year of the Rat, does not stand. The verb *hsieh* was used by the Ming translators simply to render Mongolian *bičі-* 'to write'; the question of original composition or copying of the text does not come into the picture at all, as this was, in any case, something that the translators would certainly not have been able to judge. Cf. Li, 190, n. 282. I agree with Mostaert (op. cit., 263-264) that in the present context *bičі-* can only mean 'to compose.' On the other hand, since we do not know whether this was the work of a single author or of several, I now think that it is better to make the verb impersonal in English – as it is in the original and in the sectional summary – rather than translate *bičijü da'usba* '[Nous] avons achevé d'écrire', as Mostaert does.

A radically different interpretation of the colophon has been put forward by Š. Bira who translates it as follows: 'Having finished the record as a result of (by reason of) the convocation of the Grand Assembly, in the month of the Doe [the seventh month] of the Mouse Year, upon location of the court at Dolo'an-Boldaq at Ködege Island in the Kerülen River, namely between (there) and Śilgincek.' (MHW, 20.) Bira is thus of the opinion that the *yeke qurilta* was directly involved in the compilation of the SH; indeed, it was convoked for the express purpose of recording for posterity the history of the 'Golden

Clan' (*altan uruq*), i.e. the *qan*'s lineage, by the actual representatives of the clan headed by the *qan* himself, with the participation of the surviving companions of Činggis Qan and aided by court records, story-tellers and oral tradition. See ibid., 20-21; cf. MIs, 41-42.

There are, in my view, two major objections to Bira's interpretation: 1) while a great assembly may have been convoked for such a purpose in later times (see Haider 1994), it is most unlikely that it would have been held in the first half of the 13th century, whether in 1228 or 1240. In this early period, a *yeke qurilta* was convoked only to deliberate on the most important state affairs, like the election of a new *qan*, the succession issue, military campaigns and family/clan disputes, as the Persian and Chinese sources inform us (the reading of the *ǰasaq* and of Činggis' pronouncements in the course of the *qurilta* was done within the context of these deliberations); 2) Bira's rendering of the colophon is at variance with the abridged translation provided by the Ming translators, who were well acquainted with the language of the SH. The Chinese version clearly says, 'The writing of this book was completed when the Great Assembly was convened, in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat, at the time when (the Palaces) were established in the region of Köde'e Aral of the Kelüren River' (Y^2 Sup. 2, 58b; cf. Mo, 263). I see no reason to question the correctness of this interpretation.

APPENDIX ONE

ČINGGIS QAN'S CAMPAIGNS IN MONGOLIA, SIBERIA AND CENTRAL ASIA 1204-1219

A chronological summary of events

The chronology of Činggis Qan's campaigns is still a subject of controversy among historians of the Mongol period because of the often conflicting reports found in the SH, the accounts of the Persian authors (J̌uvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn in particular) and the Chinese sources, notably the YS. For Činggis' early military exploits, the most important contribution is undoubtedly that of P. Pelliot in HCG; his data are incorporated in GK (1973). Unfortunately, Pelliot's meticulous investigation, left unfinished by his premature death, ends with section XXI (out of 80 sections) of the SWCCL, corresponding to AD 1202. For the subsequent campaigns within and beyond Mongolia, one can make profitable use of Martin (1950), GK (1973), TDMI (4th ed., 1977), ČK (1983), and the specialized articles by Th. T. Allsen (Allsen 1983 and Allsen 1987/91) and P.D. Buell (Buell 1992 and his contribution in ISK, 14-18 [1993]).

The most contentious dates concern the events following the Mongols' campaigns against the Naiman and the Merkit, and the flight of Tayang Qan's son Güčülük Qan and of Toqto'a Beki's sons with the remnants of their forces to Central Asia, prompting the expeditions led by J̌ebe and Sübe'etei; the 'first' encounter of the Mongol expeditionary forces with those of the *šāh* Muḥammad of Khwārazm; the movements of the Mongol army in central and northern Asia, and the submission of the so-called 'People of the Forest' (mmo. *hoi-yin irgen*), also in relation to the final campaign against Güčülük and the expedition against Khwārazm, i.e. the 'Western Campaign' (ch. *hsi-cheng* 西征), after the so-called 'Otrar Incident' of 1218.

The chronology of events as presented below is based on an interpretation of the data found chiefly in the SH, HWC, SL[2], SWCCL[1], the *Basic Annals* (*pen-chi* 本紀) of T'ai-tsu 太祖, i.e. Činggis Qan, in YS[2] 1, 1-28, the two biographies of Sübe'etei in YS[2] 121, 2975-2978 and 122, 3008-3009, and the short notice on him in Wang Yün's 王惲 inscription for Sübe'etei's son Uriyangqadai (1201-72) in CCWC 50, 2a-3a. It will be noticed that my chronology broadly agrees with the dates accepted by Barthold, Ratchnevsky and Allsen, but is at variance with the 'shorter' chronology proposed by Buell. I shall discuss the discrepancies in detail in a forthcoming article.

The first date, the Year of the Rat 1204, is the undisputed date for the defeat and death of the Naiman leader Tayang Qan, and for Činggis Qan's victory over Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. The events that follow are dominated by the pursuit and final destruction of the Naiman and Merkit remnants whose principal leaders were Buyiruq Qan and Güčülük Qan (of the Naiman), and after Toqto'a Beki's death in 1208, his sons Qudu, Čila'un and Qal.

1204 (Rat) Summer: Defeat of Tayang Qan of the Naiman at Naqu Cliff. Death of Tayang and flight of his son Güčülük to Tayang's brother Buyiruq Qan in western Mongolia (Kobdo-Altai region).

Autumn/Winter: Defeat of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He and his sons Qudu, Čila'un and Qal also flee to Buyiruq Qan. Surrender of Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit. His subsequent rebellion with a sizable Merkit force in the area of the Qara'un Gorge on the Selenga River (north of Kyakhta). Expedition of Boroqul Noyan, Čila'un Ba'atur and Čimbai to the Selenga to quell the rebellion.

1204/1205 (Rat/Ox) Defeat of Dayir Usun at the Taiqal stronghold.

1205 (Ox) Činggis' first limited campaign against Hsi Hsia, with destruction of fortresses and pillage, the motivation being mainly the acquisition of booty (camels, cattle).

1206 (Tiger) Spring: Enthronement of Činggis Qan and general reorganization of the army.
Resumption of the campaign against the Naiman-Merkit coalition in western Mongolia. Their defeat at the Soqoq River (= Upper Kobdo River). Flight of Buyiruq Qan across the Altai to the Urungu River and Lake Kišil Baš (= Ulyungur Nōr), where he is captured by the Mongols. Flight of Güčülük and Toqto'a Beki and his sons across the Altai to the Irtysh River.

1207 (Hare) Embassy to the Kirghiz of the Yenisei, one of the leading People of the Forest. Their submission to Činggis Qan.
Autumn: Second limited incursion into Hsi Hsia territory for more looting.

1208 (Dragon) Spring: Činggis returns to Mongolia from the Tangut country and spends the summer there.
Autumn/Winter: Resumption of the campaign against the Naiman-Merkit coalition. J̌oči's submission of Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, another People of the Forest of the Angara-Yenisei region. The Mongol army uses Oyirat guides to reach Güčülük and Toqto'a Beki on the Irtysh. The Naiman and Merkit forces are defeated at the junction of the Bukhtarma and Irtysh rivers. Toqto'a is killed by a stray arrow. Güčülük and the Naiman remnants flee to the *gür qan* of Qara Kitai in the Chu-Ili region, while the Merkit remnants led by Qudu cross the Irtysh into Uighur country. Other Merkit (under Qudu's brothers?) flee eastwards to the Qïqčaqs and northwards to the Kem Kemǰi'üt (Upper Yenisei and Kemchik region).

1209 (Snake) Güčülük reaches Ґuz Ordo (Balāsāγūn), the Qara Kitai capital on the Chu River (SW of Tokmak in Kazakhstan) and enters the *gür qan*'s service.
Qudu sends envoys to Barčuq Art Tegin, the Uighur *ïduqut* residing at Beš Balïq (= Jimasa/Jimsar, NE of Urumchi in

Sinkiang). Barčuq has the envoys killed, then drives off Qudu and his Merkit, defeating them at the Cham/Chem River (the exact name and identification of this river have not been established; it could be the present-day Ch'ang-chi Ho, the Manas Ho, or one of the rivers disappearing into the southern fringes of the Dzungarian desert north of Jimasa).
Autumn: After having informed him of the battle, Barčuq offers his submission to Činggis Qan. Qudu moves to Qara Kitai where he joins Güčülük again and lends him support in his rise to power.
Činggis leads the first major expedition against Hsi Hsia.

1210 (Horse) The Hsi Hsia ruler (Li An-ch'üan 李安全) asks for peace. Činggis returns to Mongolia and begins preparations for the war against 'the Kitat people', i.e. the Jurchen Chin.

1211 (Sheep) Spring: Expedition of Qubilai Noyan against the Qarluqs (in the area of Qayalïq, i.e. modern Taldy-Kurgan in SE Kazakhstan). Voluntary submission of their ruler Arslan Qan. The Mongols extend their control as far as the Ili.
Güčülük dethrones the Qara Kitai ruler (Chih-lu-ku 直魯古) and assumes the title of *gür qan* himself. Qudu moves from Qara Kitai to the Qanglï-Qïpčaq territory (Upper Chu and Sary Su rivers). Visit of the Uighur *ïduqut* to Činggis' *ordo* on the Kerulen. His adoption as Činggis' 'fifth son.'
Činggis Qan invades Chin with J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, and with Muqali as commander of the left wing; and with J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei in charge of the right wing.

1211-1215 (Sheep-Pig) Campaign against Chin in north China. The capital Chung-tu (Peking) is captured at the end of May 1215 after a ten-month siege. The city is sacked and burned. Činggis returns to his *ordo* on the Kerulen leaving his generals to continue the southern offensive. The reason for his departure is the planning of the final campaigns against Qudu and Güčülük and their supporters in Central Asia.

Hostilities between Muḥammad of Khwārazm and Güčülük for the control of the (former) Qara Kitai territory.

1216 (Rat) Expedition of J̌oči, Toqučar and Sübe'etei (especially equipped with 'iron carts') against Qudu and his Merkit. J̌ebe is sent to attack Güčülük. Expedition of Muḥammad against the Qïpčaqs.

1216/1217 (Rat/Ox) Defeat of Qudu, first on the Chu River and, finally, at Yü-yü (玉峪 = ? Yūγūr) in Qïpčaq country. Collision of the Khwārazmian troops with the Mongols, apparently in the area between the rivers Qaili and Qaimich (? Irgiz and Turghai). Yeh-lü Hsieh-ch'e's 耶律薛闍 rescue of J̌oči and the 'fires' ruse of the Mongols must also be referred to this occasion. The Mongols withdraw without fighting. Embassy from Muḥammad to Činggis.

1217 (Ox) Revolt of the Qori Tumat, another People of the Forest of the Angara-Yenisei region, and their capture of Qorči Noyan and Qutuqa Beki. Expedition of Boroqul and Dörbei against the Qori Tumat. Death of Boroqul.

Muqali is made *gui ong* (= *kuo-wang* 國王) by Činggis Qan and is appointed commander-in-chief of the operations in north China.

Further exchanges (envoys, trading caravans) between Činggis Qan and Muḥammad. Činggis offers a peace treaty to Muḥammad, placing him however on a level with his 'son' (i.e. implying that Muḥammad should be regarded as Činggis' vassal). Muḥammad agrees to the peace treaty, but is resentful and feels threatened by the Mongols' 'expansion' in Central Asia.

1218 (Tiger) The 'Otrar Incident' (see SH § 254): one hundred merchants and their leader bearing official credentials as Činggis Qan's envoys are arrested and killed by Ïnalčïq, the governor of the frontier town of Otrar (= Uṭrār, the former Fārāb on the Syr Darya near present-day Kok-Saray), apparently with Muḥammad's connivance. Expedition of J̌ebe

against Güčülük in the Chu-Ili region. Barčuq lends military support to the Mongols. Güčülük flees south, is eventually hunted down and killed by Ismaīl, the former Qara Kitai governor of Kāsān and ally of the Mongols, at Sariq Qōl in the Pamirs, near the border of India.

The Kirghiz of the Yenisei refuse to assist the Mongols against the Qori Tumat. General revolt of the People of the Forest against the Mongols.

1218/1219 (Tiger/Hare) Činggis sends envoys to Muḥammad to protest and demand the surrender of Ïnalčïq. Muḥammad has the envoys killed. This act of defiance makes Činggis' punitive expedition unavoidable.

J̌oči's campaign against the rebellious People of the Forest. J̌oči crosses the frozen Selenga and Yenisei rivers. Muqali's brother Buqa acts as vanguard.

1219 (Hare) Spring: The Kirghiz, Qori Tumat and other People of the Forest are brought into submission.

In May, Činggis Qan leaves his *ordo* on the Kerulen and sets out on his Western Campaign against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. J̌ebe and Sübe'etei (who are still in the field after the destruction of Güčülük) lead the vanguard.

Summer: After a brief halt on the Eder River, Činggis crosses the Altai and spends the height of summer on the banks of the Irtysh. He then moves towards Otrar by way of Qayalïq; in that plain he is joined by the Uighur and Qarluq leaders with their forces, the joint army consisting of 150-200,000 men.

In September/October the Mongols and their allies reach Otrar, where Činggis divides his forces prior to laying siege to the town. The invasion of Khwārazm has begun.

APPENDIX TWO

SECRET HISTORY PASSAGES IN THE *ALTAN TOBČI* (1990: AT[1])

Finding List

SH	AT[1]	SH	AT[1]
§ 1	4a-b	§ 29	7a
§ 2	4b	§ 30	7a-b
§ 3	4b	§ 31	7b
§ 4	4b	§ 32	7b
§ 5	5a	§ 33	7b
§ 6	5a	§ 34	7b-8a
§ 7	5a	§ 35	8a
§ 8	5a	§ 36	8a
§ 9	5a	§ 37	8a
§ 10	5b	§ 38	8a
§ 11	5b	§ 39	*deest*
§ 12	5b	§ 40	8a
§ 13	5b	§ 41	8a-b
§ 14	5b	§ 42	8b
§ 15	5b	§ 43	8b
§ 16	5b-6a	§ 44	8b
§ 17	6a	§ 45	8b
§ 18	6a	§ 46	9a
§ 19	6a	§ 47	9a-b
§ 20	6a	§ 48	9b
§ 21	6a-b	§ 49	9b
§ 22	6b	§ 50	9b-10a
§ 23	6b	§ 51	10a
§ 24	6b-7a	§ 52	10a
§ 25	7a	§ 53	10a-b
§ 26	7a	§ 54	10b
§ 27	7a	§ 55	10b-11a
§ 28	7a	§ 56	11a

§ 57	11a-11b
§ 58	11b
§ 59	12a-b
§ 60	13b
§ 61	13b-14a
§ 62	14a
§ 63	14a
§ 64	14a-b
§ 65	14b
§ 66	14b
§ 67	15a
§ 68	15a
§ 69	15a-b
§ 70	15b
§ 71	15b-16a
§ 72	16a
§ 73	16a
§ 74	16a-17a
§ 75	17a
§ 76	17a-b
§ 77	17b
§ 78	17b-18a
§ 79	18a-b
§ 80	18b-19a
§ 81	19a
§ 82	19a-b
§ 83	19b
§ 84	19b-20a
§ 85	20a
§ 86	20a-b
§ 87	20b
§ 88	20b
§ 89	20b
§ 90	20b-21b
§ 91	21b-22a
§ 92	22a
§ 93	22a-b
§ 94	22b
§ 95	22b-23a
§ 96	23a
§ 97	23a-b
§ 98	23b
§ 99	23b
§ 100	23b-24a
§ 101	24a-b
§ 102	24b
§ 103	24b-25a
§ 104	25a-b
§ 105	26a-b
§ 106	26b-27a
§ 107	27a
§ 108	27a-b
§ 109	27b-28a
§ 110	28a-b
§ 111	28b-29a
§ 112	29a
§ 113	29a-b
§ 114	29b
§ 115	29b
§ 116	29b-30a
§ 117	30a-b
§ 118	30a-31a
§ 119	31a
§ 120	31a-b
§ 121	31b-32a
§ 122	32a-b
§ 123	32a-33a
§ 124	33a-34a
§ 125	34a
§ 126	34a-b
§ 127	34b
§ 128	34b-35a

§ 129 35a
§ 130 35a-36a
§ 131 36a-b
§ 132 36b-37b
§ 133 37b-38a
§ 134 38a-b
§ 135 38b
§ 136 38b-39a
§ 137 39a-b
§ 138 39b-40a
§ 139 40a
§ 140 40a-b
§ 141 40b-41a
§ 142 41a-b
§ 143 41b
§ 144 42a
§ 145 42a-43b
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§ 264	118a-b
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APPENDIX THREE

ALTAN TOBČI PASSAGES CITED IN C. DAMDINSÜRÈN'S *MONGOLYN NUUC TOVČOO* (1976: Da[5])

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APPENDIX FOUR

A. MOSTAERT: *SUR QUELQUES PASSAGES DE L'HISTOIRE SECRÈTE DES MONGOLS* (1953: Mo)

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§ 170 pp. 82, 89, 90, 104, 108
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§ 175 p. 41 (*pro* § 204)
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APPENDIX FIVE

F.W. CLEAVES, tr.: *THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS* (1982: Cl)

Additions and Corrections

(The lines are those of the Translation. f.b. = from bottom)

p. xxv	l. 10	*for* "Ta-tan" *read* "Ta-ta"
p. xlvii		*the last line of this page should be the last line of the text*
p. 3	l. 4	*read* uncle Dobun Mergen
p. 10	ll. 10, 16	*read* Čaujin
p. 18	l. 6	*read* they had formerly been
p. 26	l. 15	*read* he lay on his back
p. 26	l. 16	*for* cangue *read buγa'u*
p. 28	n. 35	for note 13 *read* note 14
p. 28	n. 35	*delete* 88
p. 30	n. 42	for 13 *read* 14
p. 31	last line	*read* three days and three nights
p. 32	l. 4	*read* [36v]
p. 35	l. 22	*for* within, *read* within.
p. 37	l. 9	*read* [Mount] Burqan Qaldun.
p. 42	n. 14	*for* 13 *read* 14
p. 52		*a note similar to n. 47 should be inserted with regard to Jelme and Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur, these last two being the cousins, not the brothers, of Jelme*
p. 55	l. 18	*read* Doqolqu Čerbi
p. 57	l. 2	*read* geldings."
p. 57	l. 10	*read* [bowshot]."
p. 71	l. 29	*read* Mine eyes
p. 73	l. 4 f.b.	*for buγa'u read jarbiyal*
p. 79	ll. 8-9	the ten thousand Tübegen and the many Dongqayid (*in §§ 170 and 171 the same people*

		are called Tümen Tübegen *and* Olon Dongqayid, *as in fact stated in n. 13, but then why the different designations*?)
p. 82	l. 5	*for* Čahan *read* Čaγan
p. 86	l. 18	*for* Eter *read* Eder
p. 88	l. 12	*read* Who will govern all [my] people?
p. 89	l. 5	*read* the crafty wild beasts,
p. 91	l. 22	*read* [44r] At
p. 98	l. 4 f.b.	*read* [12r] Having
p. 100	l. 22	*read* is [here] with
p. 102	l.10	*read* bad daughters in law [21v] to
p. 105	l. 3 f.b.	*read* saying,
p. 107	l. 8	*read* [35r] When
p. 107	l. 15	*read* [35v] When
p. 100	l. 16	*for* Sügegi *read* Sügegei
p. 111	et passim	*for* Čaqurqan *read* Čaγurqan
p. 115	ll. 7-8, 10	the Tümen Tübe'en … the many Dongqayid (*see above, p. 79*)
p. 117	l. 1	*read* spake: "The head
p. 117	l. 2	*read* [10r] break
p. 120	l. 24	*read* for Arqai Qasar,
p. 125	l. 26	*read* Qubilai [34v]
p. 130	l. 19	*read* "Nayā, why
p. 130	l. 27	*read* [47v] Peradventure
p. 130	l. 30	*read* mother [48r] did
p. 130	n. 69	*for* 197 *read* 199
p. 133	l. 7	*read* Sarda'ul
p. 133	l. 27	*read* Sübētei
p. 141	l. 4	*delete* Now
p. 141	l. 4	*for* speak *read* Speak
p. 145	nn. 67&68	*for* 13 *read* 14
p. 159	l. 18	*read* decide [what they might be]."
p. 164	ll. 27-28	*read* There were two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers
p. 164	last line	*read* [into
p. 166	l. 26	telling [it] (*what is the subject of* 'telling'?)

p. 174 l. 24 *read* [19v]
p. 175 l. 7 *read* the Tumad people,
p. 176 l. 23 *read* hath thought."[40]
p. 189 l. 3 *delete full stop after* Buiging.[35]
p. 193 l. 5 *read* [25v] When your father
p. 197 n. 71 *transfer* See Chapter III, note 17. *to the end of n. 72*
p. 199 n. 89 *for* 246 *read* 264
p. 200 l. 21 *read* Sisten,[103] when the messengers gave him this message, at the moment
p. 200 n. 100 *for* 76 *read* 82
p. 203 l. 13 *read* laws of the cities,
p. 210 l. 6 *read* Orusud, Asud, Sesüd,[27]
p. 210 n. 26 *for* 260 *read* 261
p. 210 n. 29 *for* 219 *read* 129
p. 212 l. 6 f.b. *read* [23r] younger brethren
p. 215 l. 7 *read* and Kiwa to submit themselves,
p. 219 l. 17 *read* Güyüg and Haryasun,'"[85]
p. 219 l. 27 *read* the former [decree,]
p. 222 l. 15 *read* he said, [44r] "If
p. 230a *s.v.* Alčidai 242 (*a conflation of two different persons*?)
p. 231a *s.v.* Aru *add* ; v. Iru
p. 231a l. 25 *add* 184
p. 233a l. 8 *after* 120 *add* , 213
p. 235b l. 8 f.b. *for* Čahan Tatar *read* Čayan Tatar
p. 236a *for* Čahan Tatar *read* Čayan Tatar
p. 236a l. 29 *for* Čakir Ma'ud *read* Čakirma'ud
p. 236b l. 8 *delete* [= Ča'uǰin]
p. 237b l. 3 *read* Temüǰin
p. 239a l. 28 *transfer* (pl.) *to line 31*
p. 239b l. 2 f.b. *before* 177 *insert* 161,
p. 240b ll. 4-6 *delete entry* Eter Altai-yin belčir-iyer
p. 243a *the entry* Iru *should read* Iru (= ? Herat) (ct.) 258, 259; v. Aru
p. 246a l. 21 *for* Kelürenu *read* Kelüren

p. 248b *s.v.* Menggetü Kiyan *add* ; v. Mönggetü Kiyan, Münggetü Kiyan
p. 250a *s.v.* Mönggetü Kiyan-u kö'ü *add* ; v. Menggetü Kiyan, Münggetü Kiyan
p. 250b *s.v.* Münggetü Kiyan *add*; v. Menggetü Kiyan, Mönggetü Kiyan
p. 252a *transfer the entries* Odčigin Abaγa *and* Odčigin Noyan *after* Odčigin-nu uruγ
p. 253b l. 15 *for* Talqal *read* Talqun
p. 253b l. 28 *after* 144 *add* , 239
p. 253b l. 34 *for* Ögelen *read* Ögölen
p. 253b ll. 36-37 *delete entry on* Ögelen Čerbi
p. 254a l. 8 *for* Ögelen *read* Ögölen
p. 254a *insert entry* Ögölen Čerbi 120
p. 254a *insert entry* Önggüd 239
p. 255a *s.v.* Qada'an (of the Taryud) 202, 278 (2); Qada'an Daldurqan (*the Qada'an of §§ 202 and 278 may not be a Taryud to be identified with Qada'an Daldurqan*)
p. 256a *insert entry* Qalqa-yin Buyur Na'ur-tur 176
p. 256b l. 9 *delete entry* Qara Kitad 152 …
p. 257a l. 17 *insert* 124,
p. 259b *s.v.* Qutuqul Nu'u *add* , 220
p. 267b l. 2 f.b. *add* , 264
p. 269a last line *read* Uriangqaǰin
p. 270a l. 4 *before* 210 *insert* 120,
p. 270b l. 12 f.b. *for* 183 *read* 269
p. 270b l. 11 f.b. *for* 269 *read* 183
p. 274a *insert an explanatory entry on the word* ǰarbiyal *in § 146*
p. 274b *s.v.* naqud *italicize* *naq, n(a)x
p. 276b l. 3 f.b. *add* 189
p. 277a l. 6 *add* 189

APPENDIX SIX

I. DE RACHEWILTZ: *INDEX TO THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS* (1972: R)

Additions and Corrections

I. Text (Part One) and Index (Part Two)

For bawūl- *read* bawul- *throughout. See, however, below*, N.B.
For ilē- *read* ile- *throughout*

p. 3	l. 6	*for* brackets. *read* brackets.[19a]
p. 9		*after note* 19 *insert note* 19a *to read as follows*: See P. Pelliot, "Deux lacunes dans le texte mongol actuel de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*", *Mélanges Asiatiques* [= *JA* 232 (1940-41)], 1-18. Cf. also his article "Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols," *TP* 27 (1930), 199-202.
p. 13	l. 502	*for* börte-cinō *read* börte cinō
		for qo'ai-maral *read* qo'ai maral
p. 16	l. 726	*for* söyü-'er *read* söyü'er
p. 18	l. 825	*for* qono[q] *read* qono[n]
p. 19	l. 910	*for* bodoncar *read* bodoncar-i
p. 20	l. 932	*for* jewüredei *read* jewürēdei
	l. 933	*for* jewüredei *read* jewürēdei
	l. 934	*for* jewüredei *read* jewürēdei
	l. 936	*for* jeüred-ün *read* jeürēd-ü
p. 22	l. 1107	*for* ökin-iye[n] *read* ökin-iyen
	l. 1122	*for* buruqui-lu'a *read* burūtqui-lu'a
p. 23	l. 1210	*for* olqu *read* ol<u>qu
p. 24	l. 1227	*for* qatqun *read* hatqun
p. 29	l. 1630	*for* de'ü-yeyen *read* de'ü-yiyen
	l. 1633	*for* bilji'ür *read* bilji'ur
p. 30	l. 1710	*for* qatqun *read* hatqun
p. 33	l. 1907	*for* qono'a'ululāi *read* qono[n] a'ululāi

p. 34 l. 2004 *for* singgeksen-ü *read* singgeksen-nü
p. 45 l. 2732 *for* cilbur *read* cilbūr
p. 47 l. 2912 *for* corqan *read* cōrqan
p. 54 l. 3427 *for* cinos *read* cinōs
p. 55 l. 3505 *for* onan-u *read* onan-nu
l. 3516 *for* cilbur *read* cilbūr
p. 56 ll. 3525-6 *for* ijilidülcen *read* ijilidulcan
p. 57 l. 3628 *for* qahan-a *read* qahan-na
l. 3632 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 58 l. 3711 *for* cinggis-qahan-u *read* cinggis-qahan-nu
l. 3714 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
l. 3716 *for* onan-u *read* onan-nu
p. 60 l. 3820 *for* ökin-barqaq *read* ökin-bar<a>qaq
l. 3902 *for* uqa *read* uqa[n]
p. 61 l. 3915 *for* dörben-ü *read* dörben-nü
p. 68 l. 4512 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
l. 4518 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 70 l. 4607 *for* ong-qan-a *read* ong-qan-na
l. 4621 *for* cui-müren-e *read* cui-müren-ne
p. 71 l. 4628 *for* ong-qan-a *read* ong-qan-na
p. 75 l. 4921 *for* ong-qan-a *read* ong-qan-na
l. 4923 *for* bildü'ür *read* bildu'ur
l. 4929 *for* ede ci *read* ede-ci
l. 4932 *for* tubu'ud-i *read* tübü'üd-i
l. 4933 *for* ong-qan-u *read* ong-qan-nu
l. 4934 *for* ong-qan-u *read* ong-qan-nu
p. 76 l. 5005 *for* kö'ün-nece-'en *read* kö'ün-ece-'en
p. 78 l. 5116 *for* itegejü'ü *read* itegejü-'ǖ
l. 5133 *for* be'en *read* be'engedün
p. 79 l. 5211 *for* quyu *read* quyu[n?]
p. 80 l. 5302 *for* a[b]cira *read* abcira
p. 82 l. 5426 *for* tübegen-ü *read* tübegen-[ü]
l. 5427 *for* ong-qan-u *read* ong-qan-nu
p. 86 l. 5721 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
l. 5804 *for* hüni *read* huni
p. 92 l. 6209 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na

p. 93 l. 6220 *for* -jidün-ü *read* -jidun-u
l. 6223 *for* jewüredei *read* jewürēdei
p. 94 l. 6314 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
l. 6323 *for* qan-iyan *read* qan-niyan
p. 95 l. 6326 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 97 l. 6511 *for* oru'at *read* ōru'at
p. 101 l. 6806 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
l. 6819 *for* ese-gü *read* ese-gū
l. 6822 *for* ündür-ün *read* undurun
p. 102 l. 6908 *for* ilējü'üi *read* irejü'üi
p. 104 l. 7023 *for* uru'u[t] *read* uru'ut
p. 105 l. 7030 *for* gü[b]cin *read* gübcin
p. 108 l. 7308 *for* arai-iyar *read* arai(?)-iyar
p. 109 l. 7322 *for* arai-iyar *read* arai(?)-iyar
l. 7402 *for* telegetü *read* telegetü-yi
p. 114 l. 7723 *for* to[b]saqa *read* tobsaqa
p. 115 l. 7813 *for* uruqutala *read* urqutala
p. 118 l. 8004 *for* de[b]segü *read* debsegü
l. 8009 *for* -jidün-i *read* -jidun-i
l. 8013 *for* nendü *read* nendü[k?]
l. 8018 *for* cinos *read* cinōs
l. 8027 *for* do[b]tulju *read* dobtulju
p. 119 l. 8101 *for* maqutqaju *read* muqutqaju
l. 8106 *for* buraqsan-i *read* baraqsan-i
p. 120 l. 8206 *for* noyas *read* noqas
p. 122 l. 8315 *for* önggin *read* önggür
l. 8319 *for* soyurqa[']a]su *read* soyurqāsu
p. 123 l. 8418 *for* juldu *read* jüldü
p. 124 l. 8421 *for* juldu *read* jüldü
l. 8426 *for* juldu *read* jüldü
l. 8435 *for* boroqu[l] *read* boroqul
p. 126 l. 8534 *for* nuntu[q] *read* nuntuq
p. 127 l. 8620 *for* -bilji-ür *read* -bilji'ur
p. 133 l. 9106 *for* jirin(?) *read* jirim
p. 136 l. 9306 *for* at- *read* at=
l. 9307 *delete* (?)

p. 136 l. 9310 *for* qorgi-daca *read* qorgid-aca
p. 137 l. 9417 *delete* (?)
p. 138 l. 9506 *for* belgütai-ya *read* belgütei-ya
p. 139 l. 9511 *for* hüni *read* huni
l. 9512 *for* hüni *read* huni
p. 141 l. 9627 *for* temüge-otcigin-a *read* temüge-otcigin-na
p. 142 l. 9714 *for* otcigin-u *read* otcikin-u
p. 143 l. 9802 *for* o['o]rcu *read* ōrcu
l. 9816 *for* bolqa'asu *read* bolqā'asu
for bolqaqdaba *read* bolqāqdaba
p. 146 l. 10105 *for* jeugon-tur *read* jaugon-tur
p. 147 l. 10107 *delete hyphen after* kitat
l. 10108 *for* jeugon-tur *read* jaugon-tur
p. 149 l. 10230 *for* elcin-nü'en *read* elcin-ü'en
p. 152 l. 10432 *for* üge-tür-iyen *read* üges-tür-iyen
p. 153 l. 10516 *for* otcigin-u *read* otcigin-nu
l. 10533 *for* arai-iyar *read* arai(?)-iyar
p. 156 l. 10724 *for* cimar-i'ar *read* cimali'ar
l. 10724 *for* söyü-'er *read* söyü'er
p. 158 l. 10831 *for* erdiš *read* erdiš-i
l. 10903 *for* qadun-daca *read* qadun<d>-aca
l. 10912 *for* qahan-u *read* qahan-nu
l. 10914 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 159 l. 10930 *for* eri-qaya *read* eriqaya
for eri-je'ü-yi *read* erije'ü-yi
l. 10931 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 160 l. 11024 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan-na
p. 161 l. 11118 *for* cinggis-qahan-u *read* cinggis-qahan-nu
p. 163 l. 11224 *for* ilē['e]sü *read* ilesü
p. 164 l. 11317 *for* kibqangqun *read* kib qangqun
p. 165 l. 11414 *for* ögödei-qahan-a *read* ögödei-qahan-na
p. 166 l. 11503 *delete* (?)
l. 11508 *for* qongqortai *read* qongqortāi
p. 167 l. 11514 *for* söyü-'er *read* söyü'er
l. 11525 *for* üliscü *read* uliscu (?)
l. 11525 *for* qongqortai *read* qongqortāi

p. 171 l. 11807 *for* sa'ari<n>cintan-i *read* sa'arincintan-i
for nuntu[q]citan-i *read* nuntūcitan-i
p. 172 l. 11825 *for* ilējü'üi *read* irejü'üi
l. 11829 *for* ilējü'üi *read* irejü'üi
l. 11902 *for* qahan-u *read* qahan-nu
p. 177a-b *s.v.* -a *delete* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518, 4607, 4628, 4921, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6809, 9627, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414,
p. 179b *s.v.* -aca *insert* 9310, *and* 10903,
p. 181a *insert the entry* alai-iyar *v.* arai-iyar
p. 181b *for* ala'ai 4421, 4504, 10024 *read*
ala'ai[1] 10024
ala'ai[2] 4421, 4504
p. 185b *after* arai-iyar *insert* [alai-iyar?]
p. 187a *delete the entry* at-kiraq [atkiraq?] 9306
for atkiraq *v.* at-kiraq *read* atkiraq 9306
p. 188b *insert the entry* a'ululāi 1907
p. 189a *the entry* ba 816…11929 *to read now as follows*:
ba[1] 1312, 1315, 1316, 1318, 1319, 1627, 2505, 3122, 3123, 3123, 3215, 3218, 3218, 3220, 3403, 3405, 3728, 4228, 4513, 4514, 4515, 5118, 5522, 6230, 7612, 8622, 10024, 10025, 10029, 10029, 10420, 10426, 10635, 10718, 10731, 10734, 10918, 11426
ba[2] 816, 2016, 2902, 2903, 2903, 2904, 2904, 3020, 3201, 3202, 3521, 4035, 4111, 4111, 4612, 4613, 5230, 7328, 8537, 9620, 9620, 9705, 9727, 10007, 10921, 11203, 11207, 11816, 11817, 11929
p. 190a *insert the entry* baraqsan-i 8106
p. 191b *for* baruq 1004, 1005, 1717 *read*
baruq[1] 1004, 1005
baruq[2] 1717
p. 195b *s.v.* -be'en *delete the entry* , 5133
insert the entry be'engedün 5133
p. 196b *for* bildü'ür *read* bildu'ur

p.196b *for* bilji'ür *read* bilji'ur
s.v. bodoncar *delete the entry* 910,
s.v. bodoncar-i *add* , 910
p. 198a *for* bolqaqdaba 9816 *read* bolqāqdaba 9816
p. 198b *for* bolqa'asu 3221, 9816 *read*
bolqa'asu 3221
bolqā'asu 9816
p. 199b *for* boro *read* boro[1] *and delete* 512,
insert the entry boro[2] *pr. name* 512
for boro-yi *read* boro[1]-yi
p. 200a *after* börte *insert* 502,
delete the entry börte-cinō 502
p. 203b *delete the entry* buraqsan-i 8106
p. 204b *for* buruqui-lu'a *read* burūtqui-lu'a
p. 208a *s.v.* ci *delete* 4929,
s.v. -ci *insert* 4929,
p. 208b *for* cilbur *read* cilbūr
insert the entry cimali'ar 10724
p. 209a *delete the entry* cimar-i'ar 10724
p. 209b l. 2 *for* cinggis-qahan-a *read* cinggis-qahan
p. 209b-210a *delete the entry* cinggis-qahan-a
p. 210a *s.v.* cinggis-qahan-na *insert* 3627, 3632, 3714,
4512, 4518, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806,
10914, 10931, 11024
s.v. cinggis-qahan-nu *insert* 3711, 11117
delete the entry cinggis-qahan-u 3711, 11117
p. 210a *the entries* cinos *and* cinos-un *should read*
cinōs *and* cinōs-un
p. 211a *after* cölke *add* (=jölke)
for corqan *read* cōrqan
p. 211b l. 2 *for* -da *read* -da[1]
s.v. cui-müren-e *delete* 4621,
insert the entry cui-müren-ne 4621
for -da *read* -da[1]
s.v. -da[1] *delete* 620
p. 212a l. 2 *for* dabā-'ar *read* -da[2]

p. 212a *insert the entry* -da$_2$ 620
s.v. -daca *delete* 9310, *and* , 10903

p. 213a *the entry* darun 1712…9608 *to read now as follows*:
darun$_1$ 1712, 3834, 4707, 9608
darun$_2$ 9232, 9233

p. 214a *for* dayir$_1$ 512, 9805, *read* dayir$_1$ 9805
after dayir$_2$ *pr. name insert* 512,

p. 216a *delete the entry* de'ü-yeyen 1630
insert the entry de'ü-yiyen 1630

p. 217a *for* dörben$_2$-ü 3915 *read* dörben$_2$-nü 3915

p. 219a *s.v.* -e *delete* 4621,

p. 220b *s.v.* -ece-'en *insert* 5005,

p. 221a *s.v.* ede-ci *insert* 4929,

p. 222b *delete the entry* elcin-nü'en 10230
insert the entry elcin-ü'en 10230

p. 224a *delete* erbegeje'üljü *v.* erbegelje'üljü
after erbegelje'üljü *delete* [erbegeje'üljü?]
s.v. erdiš *delete* , 10831
insert the entry erdiš-i 10831

p. 224b *s.v.* erekün *last figure to read* 11007
delete the entry eri-je'ü-yi 10930
delete the entry eri-qaya 10930
insert the entry erije'ü-yi 10930
insert the entry eriqaya 10930

p. 225b *s.v.* ese-gü *delete* 6819
insert the entry ese-gū̃ 6819
delete gedün 5133

p. 229a *s.v.* -gü *delete* 6819,

p. 232b *insert the entry* hatqun 1227, 1710

p. 235a *for* hüni *read* huni

p. 238a *for* ijilidülcen *read* ijilidulcan

p. 238b *s.v.* ilejü'üi *delete* 6908, 11825, 11829

p. 239a *insert the entry* ilesü 11224
s.v. ilē'esü *delete* 11224

p. 240b *s.v.* irejü'üi *insert* 6908, 11825, 11829

p. 242a *for* itegejü'ü *read* itegejü-'ū
p. 242b *s.v.* -iyan *delete* 6323,
p. 243b l. 2 *for* jabajiin-iyar *read* jabajin-iyar
s.v. -i'ar *delete* 10724
p. 246a *insert* jaugon-tur 10105, 10108
p. 248a *delete the entry* je'ü-yi 10930
the entries jeüred, jeüredei *should read* jeürēd, jeürēdei
delete jaugon-tur 10105, 10108
p. 248b *for* jidün-i *read* jidun-i
for jidün-ü *read* jidun-u
for jirim *v.* jirin *read* jirim 9106
delete the entry jirin[1] [=jirim] 9106
delete [2] *from all* jirin *entries*
p. 250b *for* juldu *read* jüldü
p. 257a *the entry* ke'er 1202...10126 *to read now as follows*:
ke'er [1] 1202, 4931, 7109, 10126
ke'er [2] 5301, 5305, 5307, 5311
for ke'er-e *read* ke'er[1] -e
for ke'er-e-gü *read* ke'er[1] -e-gü
for ke'er-ece *read* ke'er[1] -ece
for ke'er-i *read* ke'er[1] -i
p. 257b *for* ke'er-ün *read* ke'er[1] -ün
insert the entry kib 11317
delete the entry kibqangqun 11317
p. 258b *delete the entry* kiraq 9307
p. 259a *insert the entry* kirü'es-ece *v.* kirü'ese-ece
after kirü'ese-ece *insert* [=kirü'es-ece]
s.v. kitat *insert* 10107,
delete the entry kitat-irgen-tür 10107
p. 261a *s.v.* kö'ün-ece-'en *insert* 5005,
delete the entry kö'ün-nece-'en 5005
p. 263a *delete the entry* maqutqaju 8101
p. 268b *s.v.* muqutqaju *insert* 8101,
s.v. müren-e *delete* 4621,

p. 268b *s.v.* müren-ne *add* , 4621
p. 269a *s.v.* -na *insert* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518, 4607, 4628, 4921, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806, 9627, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414
p. 270b *s.v.* -ne *insert* 4621,
delete the entry -nece-'en 5005
p. 271a *for* nendü *read* nendü [=nendük?]
insert the entry nendük *v.* nendü
p. 273b *s.v.* -niyan *insert* 6323,
p. 274b *after* noqas-iyan 8203 *add* , 8206
p. 275a *delete the entry* noyas-iyan 8206
for -nu *read* -nu/-nü
s.v. -nu/-nü *insert* 2004, 3505, 3711, 3716, 3915, 4933, 4934, 5427,
p. 275b *s.v.* -nu/-nü *insert* 10516, 10912, 11118, 11902
insert the entry nuntūcitan-i 11807
delete the entry nuntuqcitan-i 11807
delete the entry -nü'en 10230
p. 276b *delete the entry* ögödei-qahan-a 11414
s.v. ögödei-qahan-na *add* , 11414
p. 278a *for* olja-'ü *v.* ölje-'ü *read* olja-'ū *v.* ölje-'ū̃
p. 279a *s.v.* onan-nu *insert* 3505, 3716,
s.v. onan-u *delete* 3505, 3716,
p. 279b *delete the entry* ong-qan-a 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. ong-qan-na *add* , 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. ong-qan-nu *insert* 4933, 4934, 5427,
delete the entry ong-qan-u 4933, 4934, 5427
delete the entry önggin 8315
p. 280a *s.v.* önggür *insert* 8315,
p. 280b *after* ora'a *insert* [=oro'a]
insert the entry ōrcu 9802
p. 281a *the entry* oron 933...10324 *to read now as follows*:
oron[1] 933, 1731, 2725, 6003, 6428, 9624, 10324
oron[2] 9104, 9706, 9713
p. 281b *after* oro'a *insert cf.* ora'a, ura'a

p. 282a *for* oru'at *read* ōru'at
p. 282b *s.v.* otcigin-a *delete* 9627,
insert the entry otcigin-na 9627
insert the entry otcigin-nu 10516
delete the entry otcigin-u 9714, 10516
s.v. otcikin-u *insert* 9714,
p. 283b *s.v.* o'orcu *delete* , 9802
p. 284a *after* qa[1] *insert cf.* qa[3]
after qa[3] *insert cf.* qa[1]
p. 285b *insert the entry* qadud-aca *v.* qadund-aca
delete the entry qadun-daca 10903
insert the entry qadund-aca [=qadud-aca] 10903
p. 286b *delete the entry* qahan-a
s.v. qahan-na *insert* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414,
s.v. qahan-nu *insert* 3711, 10912, 11118, 11902,
delete the entry qahan-u
p. 288b *s.v.* qan-a *delete* 4607, 4628, 4921,
s.v. qan-iyan *delete* 6323,
p. 289a *s.v.* qan-na *add* , 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. qan-niyan *insert* 6323,
s.v. qan-nu *insert* 4933, 4934, 5427,
s.v. qan-u *delete* 4933, 4934, 5427
p. 289b *insert the entry* qangqun 11317
p. 290b *for* qara'un-jidün-i *read* qara'un-jidun-i
for qara'un-jidün-ü *read* qara'un-jidun-u
p. 293b *delete the entry* qatqun 1227, 1710
s.v. qaya *delete* , 10930
p. 295a *s.v.* qongqortai *delete* 11508, 11525
insert the entry qongqortāi 11508, 11525
p. 295b *insert the entry* qonon 825, 1907
s.v. qonoq *delete* 825,
delete the entry qono'a'ululāi
p. 296a *for* qorgi-daca *read* qorgid-aca
p. 296b *after* qoroqun *insert cf.* quroqun

p. 298b *for* qo'ai-maral *read* qo'ai

p. 300a *for* qun *read* qun[1]
insert the entry qun[2] *v.* qun[2]-a, qun[2]-nu, qun[2]-tur, qun[2]-u
for qun-a *read* qun[2]-a
for qun-nu *read* qun[2]-nu
for qun-tur *read* qun[2]-tur
for qun-u *read* qun[2]-u

p. 301b *after* quroqun *insert* [=qoroqun]

p. 302a *for* quyu *read* quyu[n?]
insert the entry quyun *v.* quyu[n?]

p. 304a *delete the entry* sa'aricintan-i *v.* sa'arincintan-i
s.v. sa'arincintan-i *delete* [=sa'aricintan-i]

p. 307a *insert the entry* singgeksen-nü 2004
s.v. singgeksen-ü *delete* 2004,

p. 309a *delete the entry* söyü-'er 726, 10724, 11514

p. 309b *insert the entry* soyurqāsu 8319
s.v. soyurqa'asu *delete* 8319,
insert the entry söyü'er 726, 10724, 11514

p. 315a *s.v.* telegetü *delete* 7402,
insert the entry telegetü-yi 7402

p. 315b *for* temüge-otcigin-a *read* temüge-otcigin-na

p. 317a *for* terge 5725, 9216 , 9229 *read*
terge[1] 9216, 9229
terge[2] *pr. name* 5725

p. 319b *after* törülmisi *insert* [=törülmiš]
insert the entry törülmiš *v.* törülmisi
for toyitcu *read* töyitcü

p. 320b *for* tubu'ud-i *read* tübü'üd-i

p. 325a-326a *s.v.* -u/-ü *delete* 2004, 3505, 3711, 3716, 3919, 4933, 4934, 5427, 10516, 10912, 11118, 11902,

p. 327b *for* üge *read* üge[1]
s.v. üge *delete* 1223,
insert the entry üge[2] 1223

p. 327b *for* üge-ben, üge-ber, üge-dür-iyen, üge-tür, üge-yi, üge-yin *read* üge[1]-ben, üge[1]-ber, üge[1]-dür-iyen, üge[1]-tür, üge[1]-yi, üge[1]-yin
delete the entry üge-tür-iyen 10432
s.v. üge-yi *delete* 1227,
insert the entry üge[2]-yi 1227
p. 328a l. 2 *for* üge-'er *read* üge[1]-'er
l. 3 *for* üge-'er *read* üge[1]-'er
s.v. üges-tür-iyen *add* , 10432
p. 331a *for* üliscü *read* uliscu (? üliscü)
p. 333a *s.v.* ündür-ün *delete* 6822
insert undurun 6822
p. 334b *delete the entry* uqa 3902
after uqan 3014, 3019, *add* 3902,
p. 335a *after* ura'a *insert* [=oro'a]
p. 335b *s.v.* urqutala *insert* 7813,
p. 336a *delete the entry* uruqutala 7813
p. 337a *s.v.* -ü'en *insert* 10230,
p. 340a *delete the entry* -yeyen 1630
p. 340b *s.v.* -yi *insert* 7402,
p. 342a *s.v.* -yiyen *insert* 1630,
p. 343b *s.v.* -'er *delete* 726, 10724, 11514
s.v. -' ū/-ū̄ *insert* 5116,

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line		*corr.*	*line*	*corr.*
521	4a	1-2	2631	3-4
527		3-5a1	3216	2-3
601		4-5b2	3217	3-5
604		1-3	3308	4-5
608	6b	1-2	3402	2-3
630		3-10a2	4004	4-33b1
733		3-15a1	4622	5-14b1
917		2	7317	5-3b1

line		*corr.*	*line*		*corr.*
1008	28a	1-2	8607		5-25b1
1135	37a	1-2	10332	25a	2-3
1939		3-4	11001		3-4
2105		5-34a1	11026		4-10a1
2630	9a	2	11410		3-5

N.B. For the value of -h- and -w- in the present transcription, see the Commentary, § 1.

APPENDIX SEVEN

WADE-GILES – PINYIN CONVERSION TABLE

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
a	a	ch'iao	qiao	ch'üan	quan
ai	ai	chieh	jie	chuang	zhuang
an	an	ch'ieh	qie	ch'uang	chuang
ang	ang	chien	jian	chüeh	jue
ao	ao	ch'ien	qian	ch'üeh	que
cha	zha	chih	zhi	chui	zhui
ch'a	cha	ch'ih	chi	ch'ui	chui
chai	zhai	chin	jin	chun	zhun
ch'ai	chai	ch'in	qin	ch'un	chun
chan	zhan	ching	jing	chün	jun
ch'an	chan	ch'ing	qing	ch'ün	qun
chang	zhang	chiu	jiu	chung	zhong
ch'ang	chang	ch'iu	qiu	ch'ung	chong
chao	zhao	chiung	jiong	e	e
ch'ao	chao	ch'iung	qiong	ei	ei
che	zhe	cho	zhuo	en	en
ch'e	che	ch'o	chuo	eng	eng
chei	zhei	chou	zhou	erh	er
chen	zhen	ch'ou	chou	fa	fa
ch'en	chen	chu	zhu	fan	fan
cheng	zheng	ch'u	chu	fang	fang
ch'eng	cheng	chü	ju	fei	fei
chi	ji	ch'ü	qu	fen	fen
ch'i	qi	chua	zhua	feng	feng
chia	jia	chuai	zhuai	fo	fo
ch'ia	qia	ch'uai	chuai	fou	fou
chiang	jiang	chuan	zhuan	fu	fu
ch'iang	qiang	ch'uan	chuan	ha	ha
chiao	jiao	chüan	juan	hai	hai

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
han	han	jang	rang	ku	gu
hang	hang	jao	rao	k'u	ku
hao	hao	je	re	kua	gua
he	he	jen	ren	k'ua	kua
hei	hei	jeng	reng	kuai	guai
hen	hen	jih	ri	k'uai	kuai
heng	heng	jo	ruo	kuan	guan
ho	he	jou	rou	k'uan	kuan
hou	hou	ju	ru	kuang	guang
hsi	xi	juan	ruan	k'uang	kuang
hsia	xia	jui	rui	kuei	guei
hsiang	xiang	jun	run	k'uei	kuei
hsiao	xiao	jung	rong	kun	gun
hsieh	xie	ka	ga	k'un	kun
hsien	xian	k'a	ka	kung	gong
hsin	xin	kai	gai	k'ung	kong
hsing	xing	k'ai	kai	kuo	guo
hsiu	xiu	kan	gan	k'uo	kuo
hsiung	xiong	k'an	kan	la	la
hsü	xu	kang	gang	lai	lai
hsüan	xuan	k'ang	kang	lan	lan
hsüeh	xue	kao	gao	lang	lang
hsün	xun	k'ao	kao	lao	lao
hu	hu	ke	ge	le	le
hua	hua	k'e	ke	lei	lei
huai	huai	kei	gei	leng	leng
huan	huan	ken	gen	li	li
huang	huang	k'en	ken	lia	lia
hui	hui	keng	geng	liang	liang
hun	hun	k'eng	keng	liao	liao
hung	hong	ko	ge	lieh	lie
huo	huo	k'o	ke	lien	lian
i	yi	kou	gou	lin	lin
jan	ran	k'ou	kou	ling	ling

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
liu	liu	neng	neng	p'i	pi
lo	luo	ni	ni	piao	biao
lou	lou	niang	niang	p'iao	piao
lu	lu	niao	niao	pieh	bie
lü	lü	nieh	nie	p'ieh	pie
luan	luan	nien	nian	pien	bian
lüeh	lüe	nin	nin	p'ien	pian
lun	lun	ning	ning	pin	bin
lung	long	niu	niu	p'in	pin
ma	ma	no	nuo	ping	bing
mai	mai	nou	nou	p'ing	ping
man	man	nu	nu	po	bo
mang	mang	nü	nü	p'o	po
mao	mao	nuan	nuan	p'ou	pou
mei	mei	nüeh	nüe	pu	bu
men	men	nung	nong	p'u	pu
meng	meng	o	o, e	sa	sa
mi	mi	ou	ou	sai	sai
miao	miao	pa	ba	san	san
mieh	mie	p'a	pa	sang	sang
mien	mian	pai	bai	sao	sao
min	min	p'ai	pai	se	se
ming	ming	pan	ban	sen	sen
miu	miu	p'an	pan	seng	seng
mo	mo	pang	bang	sha	sha
mou	mou	p'ang	pang	shai	shai
mu	mu	pao	bao	shan	shan
na	na	p'ao	pao	shang	shang
nai	nai	pei	bei	shao	shao
nan	nan	p'ei	pei	she	she
nang	nang	pen	ben	shei	shei
nao	nao	p'en	pen	shen	shen
ne	ne	peng	beng	sheng	sheng
nei	nei	p'eng	peng	shih	shi
nen	nen	pi	bi	shou	shou

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
shu	shu	tei	dei	tse	ze
shua	shua	teng	deng	ts'e	ce
shuai	shuai	t'eng	teng	tsei	zei
shuan	shuan	ti	di	tsen	zen
shuang	shuang	t'i	ti	ts'en	cen
shui	shui	tiao	diao	wa	wa
shun	shun	t'iao	tiao	wai	wai
shuo	shuo	tieh	die	wan	wan
so	suo	t'ieh	tie	wang	wang
sou	sou	tien	dian	wei	wei
su	su	t'ien	tian	wen	wen
suan	suan	ting	ding	weng	weng
sui	sui	t'ing	ting	wo	wo
sun	sun	tiu	diu	wu	wu
sung	song	to	duo	ya	ya
szu	si	t'o	tuo	yang	yang
ta	da	tou	dou	yao	yao
t'a	ta	t'ou	tou	yeh	ye
tai	dai	tsa	za	yen	yan
t'ai	tai	ts'a	ca	yin	yin
tan	dan	tsai	zai	ying	ying
t'an	tan	ts'ai	cai	yu	you
tang	dang	tsan	zan	yü	yu
t'ang	tang	ts'an	can	yüan	yuan
tao	dao	tsang	zang	yüeh	yue
t'ao	tao	ts'ang	cang	yün	yun
te	de	tsao	zao	yung	yong
t'e	te	ts'ao	cao		

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(In the alphabetical order, letters with diacritics always follow those without them: c, č, e, ė, j, ǰ, etc. However, in Japanese surnames ō = o)

1. Periodicals, Collections and Reference Works

AA = Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture

AAWG = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse

ACS = Area and Culture Studies (東京外國語大學論集)

ADAW = Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst

AEMA = Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi

AF = Asiatische Forschungen

AFS = Asian Folklore Studies (Nagoya)

AH = Altai Hakpo. Journal of the Altaic Society of Korea

AJP = American Journal of Philology

Altaica (Moscow)

AM = Asia Major

AMo = Acta Mongolica

AO = Acta Orientalia (Helsinki)

AOH = Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

AOr = Archiv Orientální

ASAW = Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

BAVA = Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie

BCUP = Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking

BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient

BIAMS = The IAMS News Information on Mongol Studies Bulletin (Ulan Bator)

BIHEC = Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises

BMFEA = Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities

BOH = Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (formerly *BSOS*)
BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London Institution* (later *BSOAS*)
BSYS = *Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies* (later *JSYS*)
BŠUAM = *BNMAU Šinžlėx Uxaany Akademiĭn Mėdėė*
CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal*
CAS = *Central Asiatic Studies*
CHWSLT = 中華文史論叢
CKSYCTT = 中國史研究動態
CKTYNP = 中國東亞學術研究計劃委員會年報. *Bulletin of the China Council for East Asian Studies*
CKWHYCHK = 中國文學研究彙刊. *Bulletin of Chinese Studies*
CKYSYC = 中國元史研究通訊
CMJS = *Corea-Mongol Joint Studies*
CMR = *The Canada-Mongolia Review. La Revue Canada-Mongolie*
CNHP = 中南民族學院學報
CO = *Collectanea Orientalia*
CSM = *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comiteti Scientiarum et Educationis Altae Reipublicae Populi Mongoli*
CSSH = *Comparative Studies in Society and History*
CYYY = 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* (*Academia Sinica*)
DAN = *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Leningrad)
EAH = *East Asian History* (Canberra)
EM = *Études mongoles* (later *EMS*)
EMS = *Études mongoles et sibériennes* (formerly *EM*)
EP = *Etnografia Polska*
ESY = *Eurasian Studies Yearbook*
GAF = *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*
GK = 語言研究
HBK = 北方文化研究. *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of North Eurasian Cultures Hokkaido University*

HHYC = 漢學研究. *Chinese Studies*
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HKDK = 北海道教育大學紀要 (社會科學編)
HO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*
HPMTTK = 西北民族文化研究叢刊
HS = *Hakluyt Society* (Series)
HSLWC = 學術論文集
HUS = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
HYISIS = *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*
IAN = *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Leningrad)
IASCCAIB = *Information Bulletin of the International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia,* UNESCO (Moscow)
IJCAS = *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*
IRAN = *Izvestiya Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii Nauk* (Petrograd)
IS = *Islamic Studies*
ISO AN SSSR = *Izvestiya Sibirskogo Otdeleniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*
IVLMMT = *Indices verborum linguae Mongolicae monumentis traditorum*
JA = *Journal asiatique*
JAAS = *Journal of Asian and African Studies*
JAH = *Journal of Asian History*
JAMS = *Journal of the Anglo-Mongolian Society*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCBRAS = *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
JHKBRAS = *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JJWK = 人人文庫 (Taipei)
JOSA = *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JS = *Journal des savants*

JSFOu = *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*
JSYS = *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* (formerly *SNS* and *BSYS*)
JTS = *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Harvard University)
KDTR = 九州大學東洋史論集
KG = 考古
KGDR = 神戸外國語大學論叢
KS = *Keleti Szemle*
KSINA = *Kratkie soobščeniya Instituta Narodov Azii*
LCYYWCTL = 遼金元語文僅存錄 (Taipei)
LSYC = 歷史研究
MCB = *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*
MCO = *Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste* (Kraków)
MG = 蒙古學
MH = *Mongolhak. Mongolian Studies*
MK = モンゴル研究. *Bulletin of the Japan Association of Mongolian Studies*
MKJT = *Mongyol kele jokiyal teüke* (Hohhot)
MKSYC = 蒙古史研究. *Studia historica Mongolica. Mongyol teüke sudulul*
MKUJ = *Mongyol kele udqa jokiyal*
MLMC = *Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta*
MM = 滿蒙
MN = *Mongol nyelvemléktár*
Mongolica = *Mongolica. An International Annual of Mongol Studies* (Ulan Bator)
MRDTB = *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*
MS = *Monumenta Serica*
MSB = *Mongyo!-un sudulul bičig. Bulletin of the Institute for Mongol Studies, The Mongolian State University*
MSBu = *The Mongolia Society Bulletin*
MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*
MSK = 明代史研究
MSM = *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series*
MSNl = *The Mongolia Society Newsletter*

MSOP = *Mongolia Society Occasional Papers*
MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin. Westasiatische Studien*
MSSP = *The Mongolia Society Special Papers*
MSt = *Mongolian Studies. Journal of the Mongolia Society*
MSu = *Mongolyn sudlal. Studia Mongolica.* See *SM*
MTHP = 民族學報
MTSHHP = 民族社會學報
MTYC = 民族研究
MTYW = 民族語文
MZGK = 民族學研究
NAA = *Narody Azii i Afriki*
NAGK = 內陸アジア語言の研究
NASK = 內陸アジア史研究
NB = 日本文化
NCTHHP = 南京大學學報
NK = *Nyelvtudományi közlemények*
NMGK = 日本モンゴ學會會報
NŠU = *Neyigem-ün sinǰilekü uqayan. Inner Mongolia Social Science*
OGDG = 大阪外國語大學學報
OLZ = *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
ÖMBYS = *Öbör Mongγol-un baγsi-yin yeke suryγuli erdem sinǰilegen-ü sedgül*
ÖMNŠU = *Öbör Mongγol-un neyigem-ün sinǰilekü uqayan. Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*
ÖMYS = *Öber Mongγol-un yeke suryγuli erdem sinǰilegen-ü sedgül.* 內蒙古大學學報. *Journal of Inner Mongolia University Philosophy & Social Sciences*
PEFEO = *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
PFEH = *Papers on Far Eastern History* (Canberra)
PO = *Przeglad Orientalistyczny*
PR = *Psychological Reports*
RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*

RK = 歷史教育
RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
RP = *Romance Philology*
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SA = *Scientific American*
SAr = *Sinologische Arbeiten* (漢學集刊)
SAM = *Arxeologiĭn sudlal. Studia archeologica Inst. Hist. Com. Scient. et Educ. Altae Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
SE = *Ėtnografiĭn sudlal. Studia ethnographica Inst. Hist. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
SEC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*
SĖ = *Sovetskaya ėtnografiya*
SF = *Aman zoxiol sudlal. Studia folclorica Inst. Linguae et Litt. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
SGKAO = *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients* (Berlin)
SH = *Tüüxiĭn sudlal. Studia historica Inst. Historiae Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
Shaman = *Shaman. Journal of the International Society for Shamanistic Research*
Shikan = 史觀
Shirin = 史林
Shisō = 思想
SHM = *Mongyol teüke sudulul.* 蒙古史研究. *Studia historica Mongolica*
SI = *Studia Islamica*
SIK = 史學彙刊
SLCAAMS = (*Institute for the*) *Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Monograph Series* (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
SLTS = 史料叢書 (Taipei)
SM = *Studia Mongolica Inst. Linguae et Litt. Com. Scient. et Educ. Altae Reipubl. Pop. Mong.* See *MSu*
SNV = *Strany i narody vostoka*

SO = *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki)
SOr = *Studi Orientali*
SOLL = *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* (Harvard University)
SPTK = 四部叢刊
SS = *Studia Serica*
SSM = *Studia Serica Monographs*
SSN = *Sung Studies Newsletter* (later *BSYS* and *JSYS*)
ST = *Studia Tibetica*
SUA = *Studia Uralo-Altaica*
SZ = 史學雜誌
ŠU = *Šinžlėx uxaan. Nauka*
TBI = *Trudy Buryatskogo Instituta Obščestvennykh Nauk BF SO AN SSSR* (Ulan-Ude)
TBKK = 東洋文化研究所紀要
TBR = 東洋文庫論叢
TČRDMP = *Trudy Členov Rossiĭskoĭ Dukhovnoĭ Missi v Pekine* (St. Petersburg)
TD = *Türkoloji Dergisi* (Ankara)
TDA = *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*
TDAYB = *Türk Dili Araştırma Yıllığı-Belleten*
TGDR = 東京外國語大學論集
THG = 東方學
THGH = 東方學報
TLTC = 大陸雜誌
TP = *T'oung Pao*
TSCC = 叢書集成
TSCIA = *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*
TVOIRAO = *Trudy Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva* (St. Petersburg)
TYGH = 東洋學報
TYSK = 東洋史研究
TYSR = 東洋史論集
UAB = *Ural-Altaische Bibliothek*
UAJ = *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*

UAS = Uralic and Altaic Series
UNTKM = Ulsyn Nėr Tom'yoony Komissyn Mėdėė
VFPA = Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
VS = Vostočnyĭ sbornik (St. Petersburg)
WDK = 早稻大學語學教育研究所紀要
WS = 文史
WSCHP = 文史哲學報
WW = 文物
XZS = Xėl zoxiolyn sudlal. Studia linguae et litterarum Inst. Linguae et Litt. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.
YCHP = 燕京學報
YS = 元史
YSPFCK = 元史及北方民族史研究集刊
YSLT = 元史論叢
ZAS = Zentralasiatische Studien
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZKV = Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov (Leningrad)
ZVOIRAO = Zapiski Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva

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AT^1 = Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin (Lubsangdanǰin), *Altan tobči*. Also called *Altan tobči nova*. Full title: *Erten-ü qad-un ündüsülegsen törö yosun-u ǰokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaγsan altan tobči kemekü orosibai*, 1655. The Ulan Bator ms. described by C. Žamcarano in Žamc.[1], 79-120 (cf. Žamc.[2], 55-88). All references are to the folios of this ms. which has been reproduced in a facsimile edition entitled *Ėrtniĭ xaadyn ündėslėsėn tör yosny zoxiolyg tovčlon xuraasan altan tovč xėmėėx oršvoĭ* "*The Golden Summary Which Relates Briefly the Deeds of Civil Governing Established by Ancient Emperors*" (*The Mongol chronicle of the 17th century*), ed. with an Introduction by Š. Bira, Ulan Bator, 1990. Cf. AT^2, AT^3, AT^4, ATI, and ATL

AT^2 = Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin (Lubsangdanǰin), *Altan tobči*. Full title: *Erten-ü qad-un ündüsülegsen törö yosun-u ǰokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaγsan altan tobči kemekü orosibai,* I-II, Ulan Bator, 1937. Repr. as *Altan Tobči. A Brief History of the Mongols by bLo.bzaṅ bsTan·'jin*, with a Critical Introduction by The Reverend Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M., Cambridge, Mass., 1952 (references are to the latter edition)

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ATCML = P.U. Unschuld, ed., *Approaches to Traditional Chinese Medical Literature. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Translation Methodologies and Terminologies*, Dordrecht-Boston-London, 1989

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1. PROPER AND PLACE NAMES

(Numerals in bold type refer to sections of the translation, not to pages. The sign + after the reference indicates that the name occurs in that section more than once. Please note the following abbreviations: cl. = clan; des. = desert; lk. = lake; mt. = mountain, any elevation; peo. = people[s], tribe, nation; pl. = place, locality; pr. = person, any individual; rv. = river, any watercourse)

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(The publications listed below appeared, were received, or came to my notice too late for inclusion in the Introduction, the Commentary and the Bibliography; and some of the references were inadvertently omitted at the time of writing)

p. lxxii, ll. 2-3: a new transcription of the text of the SH by Songqor was published in Hohhot in 2002 under the title *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan-u sergügelte* (p.c. of Dr E. Chiodo).

p. xc, n. 114: with regard to the HIIY of 1389, a new *Word- and Suffix-Index to the Hua-yi Yi-yü based on the Romanized Transcription of L. Ligeti* by Hitoshi Kuribayashi 栗林均 was published by The Center for Northeast Asian Studies (CNEAS) of Tohoku University, Sendai, 2003. This work includes an excellent photo-reproduction of the Chinese text.

p. civ, n. 297, cviii, n. 338: a second edition of Li is in preparation in Hungary. It will be issued, under the original title, by the publishing house Osiris, with an Afterword, a revised chronological table and bibliography by G. Kara (p.c. of Prof. Kara).

p. cx, n. 356: to the recent studies on Middle Mongolian one must now add Yoshio Saitō's 斎藤純男 book 中期モンゴル語の文字と音声 (*Script and Sound in Middle Mongolian*), Kyoto, 2003; and V. Rybatzki's contribution 'Middle Mongol', in J. Janhunen, ed., *The Mongolic Languages*, London & New York, 2003, 57-82.

p. 223, l. 5 f.b.: on the intervocalic hiatus and Y. Saitō's contribution, see above.

p. 224, l. 3: for the reading *činō* v. *čino*, see below, under p. 479.

p. 234, l. 9 f.b.: *after* Ch'en Te-chih *add* 陳得芝.

p. 341, last line: for the directive suffix *-ru/-rü*, cf. J.E. Erickson, 'On the Origin of the Directive Case in Turkic', *AOH* 55:2002, 403-411.

p. 350, 4th para.: on the great standard (*tuq*) of the Mongols, cf. also D. Sinor 'Dix années d'orientalisme hongrois (1940-1950)', *JA* 239:1951, 222.

p. 358, ll. 9-12: regarding the edible plants mentioned in §§ 74 and 75 of the SH, the full reference to Khasbagan and Imzab's article (in Chinese) is: 哈斯巴根, 音扎布, '"蒙古秘史" 食用植物的民族物學研究', 干旱資源與环境增刊, 內蒙古植物資源研究, 1992, 130-138 (English abstract, p. 138). The identifications proposed by Khasbagan and Imzab are the following: 1. *ölirsün* (§ 74) = *Malus baccata* (L.) Borkh.; 2. *moyilsun* (§ 74) = *Prunus padus* L.; 3. *südün* (§ 74) = *Sanguisorba officinalis* L.; 4. *čičigina* (§ 74) = *Potentilla anserina* L.; 5. *qaliyarsun* (§ 74) = *Allium victorialis* L.; 6. *manggirsun* (§§ 74, 75) = *Allium senescens* L.; 7. *ǰa'uqasu* (§ 74) = *Lilium pumilum* DC.; 8. *qoqosun* (§ 75) = *Allium ramosum* L. As for the *qaraqana* (§ 195), i.e. *Caragana arborescens*, and the *deresün* (§ 249), i.e. *Lasiogrostis splendens*, cf. also Arch. Palladius in the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, 1894.1, 59 and n. 1, et passim (on *Lasiogrostis*), 68 (on *Caragana*). For some interesting asides, cf. also the recent article by R.I. Meserve, 'On the History of Medicinal Plant Research in Mongolia', in J. Janhunen and A. Parpola, *Remota Relata. Essays on the History of Oriental Studies in Honour of Harry Halén*, Helsinki, 2003, 155-167.

p. 419: for the Tangut title *nga-mbi̯u* (> SH *gambu*), see also H. Franke, 'Zur chinesisch-uigurischen Inschrift von 1361', *ZDMG* 153:2003, 147.

p. 443, l. 6 f.b.: for the pronoun *bidanu'ai*, see below under p. 569.

p. 479, 3rd para.: concerning the reading *činō* v. *čino* (see above, p. 224) and Činōs v. Činos, the argument in favour of *ō* (> *o*) as propounded here must be subject to some caution, since the long vowel of the second syllable is apparently not present in *any* modern Mongolian language or dialect.

p. 551, ll. 5-6: for the Arabic-Mongolian document of 1272, see A. Temir, *Kirşehir Emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca varfiyesi*, Ankara, 1959, 160 (l. 27), 164 (l. 27), 197. Cf. MPr, 271 (l. 27). The following is a tentative translation of the relevant portion (ll. 1-61): 'On the second *qaučid* of the first month of summer of the year of the Monkey (= 20 May 1272), when Nuradin (= Nūr al-Dīn), the son of Čaǰa (?), was at Ladib Kermen Sarai, he relinquished his own possessions, all of them, making them an *uqb* (= ar. *waḳf*) for the sake of Heaven. He had (the deed) entered in this document: "After me, no one, whether (they be) my brothers, my sons, my daughters or sons-in-law, my grandchildren or great-grandchildren, shall make changes to this *uqb* (and include) people other than the persons recorded in this document. If (someone) contravenes, he shall be culpable (and liable to punishment) by Eternal Heaven!" Being told to accomplish (this) and carry it out in accordance with what has been written in this document, we, together with all (our) companions – these officials (*noyad*) – have acted as witnesses, being (the following): Samaγar, Bainal, Dayir, Kökečü, T(e)mür, Ạbügen, Köke, Buqa T(e)mür, Samdaγu, Iltüge (? Iltöge), the post-stations inspector Taǰadin, Maryus, Taraγai, /Nabči's commander of a hundred/ Uriangqadai, the equerry Alaγ, Unuγučar (? Onoγučar), Ungiyan (? Ongqiyan) and the steward Bala, Čirgin (? Čirbin), Qutu Buqa, Buγačar, Boranud's commanders (*noyad*) Ögölǰin (and) Čamtu, the commander of a hundred Samdaγu, the equerries Čoban, Negbei; Maγu, Čaqa (? Čaγa), Nabči's intendant Toγtoγa, Ạsen, Čauγa, Toγan, Turumtai, Audači (? Ečüdeči), Uriangqadai's son Qitadai, Nabči's camp-master Qanglidai, Talbar, Keremün; further, the companions of

the commander Samaγar, the stewards Mergegü, Taraγai, Bökmiš (? Bükmiš), T(e)mür, Qurtuγa; Tödegü, Šongqor, Botoγan, Bora, Körbuγa, Qalǰaγai, Il Qutluγ, Mulayidai, Mamačuγ, Tegene, Sadi, Tabar, Šongqor *bayatur*, Bainal's companions, Masqud, Külebir, Mulaid, Qoltu Qoǰa, Kökečü, Noγai, Böbeg (? Bübeg), Kökedei, Iduγadai, Nasuqutluγ, Yüreg, Aban; further, the commander of a thousand Ayid, the commanders of a hundred Uγsa, Toγuladai, Γasan, Kökedei, Türkmen, Yisüder, ... egesün (?), Qadaγan, Qočγar, the intendant Möngkegür, (and) Qutuγu. We all, complying with Nuradin's (word =) order, have acted as witnesses for this *uqb*'. (Lines 62-67 are by another hand.)

p. 551, l. 12 f.b.: for tu. *el*, see also I. Zimonyi, '*Bodun* und *el* im Frühmittelalter', *AOH* 56:2003, 57-79.

p. 552, 2nd para.: for the name given by the Tanguts to their own kingdom, see Franke H 2002, 227 and n. 3.

p. 569, l. 2: for a comprehensive study of Mongolian personal pronouns in the SH, see now Hitoshi Kuribayashi's article '"元朝秘史" におけるモンゴル語と漢語の称代名詞対応' in 東北アジア研究 7:2003, 1-32.

p. 691, l. 2 f.b.: for a re-examination of the Chinese sources on the *kešik* of the Yüan dynasty, see Chin-fu Hung 洪金富, '元朝怯薛輪值史料攷釋' ('Reexamination of Chinese Sources on the Kesig or Imperial Guard of the Yüan Dynasty'), *CYYY* 74:2003, 325-388 (English abstract, pp. 387-388).

p. 764, l. 3: *insert* (14) Čülgetei: this personage may well be the Čilgütei of the Suldus mentioned in §§ 120, 124. Cf. Li, 219, s.v. 'Csülgetej'. In Cl, 238a, his name is incorrectly transcribed as 'Čülgetü'.

p. 764, l. 12: on Müge (38), see Franke, op. cit., 241.

p. 824, l. 6: the names of Alčidai, Elčidei, Elǰigidei and their variants are hopelessly confused in our sources. As Pelliot

rightly points out, 'Il est impossible de dire, sans un examen minutieux de tous les textes, quels sont ceux qui se rapportent à Äljigidäi, fils de Qači'un, et ceux qui concernent des homonymes ou quasi-homonymes'. (*Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n.1.) Even then, I doubt whether some of the individuals bearing these names can be positively identified.

p. 889, l. 13 f.b.: for the military system of the Chin dynasty, see also H. Franke, *Krieg und Krieger im chinesischen Mittelalter (12. bis 14. Jahrhundert). Drei Studien*, Stuttgart, 2003 (esp. pp. 215-245).

p. 938, l. 11: for the name Aša (of Aša Gambu), cf. also H. Franke, 'Zur chinesisch-uigurischen Inschrift von 1361' (see above, under p. 419), 149-150.

p. 982: for the latest developments on the search for Činggis Qan's grave, see John G. Man's book *Genghis Khan: Life, Death and Resurrection*, Transworld, London, 2003 (in press).

p. 1039, ll. 11-12: for the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, cf. V. Rybatzki, 'Names of the Month in Middle Mongol', in A. Sárközi, A. Rákos, eds, *Altaica Budapestinensia MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Altaistic Conference. Budapest, Hungary, June 23-28, 2002*, Budapest, 2003, 256-290.

p. 1101, l. 5: a new edition of Cév., revised and enlarged by C. Šagdarsürèn, was published in Hohhot in 2002 under the double title *Mongol xèlniĭ tovč taĭlbar tol'*. *Mongγol kelen-ü tobči tayilburi toli*.

p. 1182, l. 12 f.b.: a new unaltered edition of Šaγja (1937), with the same title but different pagination, was prepared by Š. Čoyima and published in Ulan Bator and Hohhot in 1996/97.

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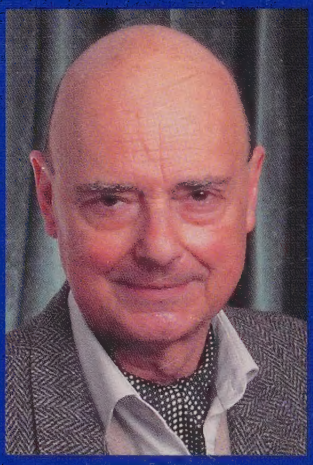

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ,
a Ph.D. of the Australian National University (1961), has specialized in Chinese history, and in Mongolian history and philology of the 12th-14th centuries. From 1966 to 2003 he directed the Yüan Biographical Project at the A.N.U., publishing 15 volumes and over 70 articles. He is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and an Honorary Doctor of Rome University, where he taught Mongol history for several years as a Visiting Professor.

THE PRESENT TRANSLATION OF THE FAMOUS thirteenth century epic chronicle known as the Secret History of the Mongols is the product of thirty years' continuous investigation of this difficult text. Over 1,300 primary and secondary sources, as well as monographs and essays in many languages, have been consulted by the author who is a specialist in Sino-Mongolian Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra. Its chief value lies in the historical and philological commentary accompanying the translation, by far the most extensive of its kind. The translation itself, while close to the original, is at the same time eminently readable. The lengthy introduction provides a valuable and original insight into the history of the text and its importance as a historical source and literary monument. The three comprehensive indices (of names, subjects, grammar and lexis) also make this book a useful reference work for research on a variety of subjects related to Central Asia and China in the 12th and 13th centuries.

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